













# English Language Grammar

1859

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latter only two are morphological characters. It follows accordingly that N. is more closely allied to the W. Gd. than to the E. Gd. group of languages.

Further, N. stands by itself in the following points: 1) the aspiration, in certain cases, of a medial consonant<sup>1)</sup>; 2) the softening, occasionally, of an initial hard consonant<sup>2)</sup>; 3) the active affix *le*. These are not very important matters; but taken together with the other fact, that in the six main points N. is divided in its affinity between the W. and E. Gd., they show that it must be looked upon as constituting a separate group of its own, which I shall call in this treatise the *Northern Gaudian speech*. Perhaps the circumstance which brings out most clearly that both M. and N. are really separate forms of speech as well as the W. and E. Gd. is this: that, as regards the past tense of transitive verbs, M. agrees morphologically (suffix *al*) with E. Gd., but syntactically (passive constr.) with W. Gd., while on the other hand N. agrees morphologically (suff. *ya* or *ia*) with W. Gd., but syntactically (active constr.) with E. Gd.

The result, then, so far arrived at is, that there are *four* great forms of speech, occupying the whole of North-India (viz. N. Gd., W. Gd., S. Gd., and E. Gd.). At a former period each constituted a single language. They have gradually broken up into varieties which in the W. Gd. and E. Gd. have already become distinct languages, while in the N. Gd. and S. Gd. they are as yet no more than dialects. Further, it has appeared that these *four* great forms of speech naturally divide themselves into *two* greater groups; one comprising the N. Gd. and W. Gd., the other the S. Gd. and E. Gd. This circumstance, then, points to a still more remote period in the glottic history of India, when there

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\* 1) Apparently only when there was originally a double consonant; e. g., N. *dphu* self, for H. *áp*, Pr. *appá*; N. *ághi* before, for H. *áge*, Pr. *agge*; N. *bálakh* child, for H. *bálak*, Pr. *valakko*; N. *májhad* for H. *mājat*, Pr. *majjanto*, etc.; see S. Luke 1, 17. 24. 41. 11, 39.

2) e. g., root *gar* to do for *kar*.

were only two great varieties of speech current in North India, which divided that country diagonally between them; the one occupying the north-western, the other the south-eastern half. These two greater glottic divisions I shall designate, for reasons to be explained presently, the *Śaurasenī Prākṛit tongue* and the *Māgadhī Prākṛit tongue* respectively.

The oldest Prākṛit grammar, which we possess (that of Vararuchi, 1<sup>st</sup> cent. B. C.) enumerates four varieties of Prākṛit; viz. the Prākṛit proper, the Śaurasenī, the Māgadhī and the Paisāchī. The first of these is commonly called the Mahārāshṭrī (now Marāṭhī); the Śaurasenī (now Braj) and Māgadhī (now Bihārī) take their names from the provinces which form the centres of the W. Gd. and E. Gd. areas respectively; the Paisāchī is ascribed by some later Pr. grammarians<sup>1)</sup> to Nepāl among other places. Hence it might be thought, that those four ancient Prākṛit varieties are coordinate forms of speech and correspond to the four Gaudian speeches. This view, however plausible at first sight, is certainly erroneous. The whole subject of the relation of the Prākṛits, as learned from the old native writers, to the Gaudians, as known to us by actual experience, is involved in much confusion and obscurity, partly because of the sometimes uncertain, sometimes (seemingly) contradictory statements of those authors, partly on account of the apparent discrepancy in phonological and morphological characters between the Prākṛits and the Gaudians. The most probable account of the matter seems to be the following.

There are in reality only two varieties of Prākṛit. One includes the Śaurasenī and the (so-called) Mahārāshṭrī. These are said to be the prose and poetic phases of the same variety, and even this distinction is, probably, artificial. The other is the Māgadhī. The relation of Paisāchī to these two varieties may be roughly described as that of Low or Vulgar to High-Prākṛit. The latter

1) e. g., by Lakshmidhara in his *Shabdabhāṣā Chandrikā*, see Ls. 13.

was used in literature, and never strictly a *spoken* language; it was more or less artificial from the very beginning, and became still more so in course of time. On the other hand, the Low-Prākṛit (or Paisācī) was the spoken language of the people; that is, probably in the beginning, of those aborigines, who fell under the domination and influence of the Aryan immigrants, and in whose mouth the Aryan vernacular was distorted into Paisācī. For that name is a term of contempt; the uncouth dialect of the *savages* or *cannibals*, as the Aryans called it. It is ascribed by the native grammarians to the tribes, bordering on the Aryan area in the north (Himālaya, Nepāl) and south (Paṇḍya, Dakhan)<sup>1</sup>). Again the most striking feature of the Paisācī is its change of the Aryan *u*, *l* and the sonants into *n*, *ḷ* and the surds respectively, which latter are peculiar to the Drāviḍian languages. According to Caldwell (Cp. Gr. p. 102—105) those languages had originally no sonant mutes. The Drāviḍians, therefore, when adopting Aryan speech, would naturally mispronounce its sonants as surds. All this time, of course, the Aryan immigrants had their own *vernacular*, understanding by that term the spoken language of the people as distinguished from its literary form. Gradually as the aboriginal population were amalgamated by the Aryan immigrants, the peculiarities of its Paisācī speech would naturally die out<sup>2</sup>); and the Aryan vernacular, incorporating whatever in the Drāviḍian speech was capable of assimilation, would remain the sole occupant of the field. This Aryan vernacular is called by the Pr. grammarians the *Apabhraṃṣa* Prākṛit, as being in their opinion a corrupted language in comparison with what they considered the purer, the

<sup>1</sup> e. g., Lakshmīdhara in the *Shāḍbhāṣā Chandrikā* says: piśācha-deśāḥ tu vṛddhair uktāḥ, pāṇḍya kekaya vāhlīka sahya nepāla kuntalāḥ, sudeśha bhota gāndhāra haiva kanojanās tathā. Ls. 13.

<sup>2</sup> None of the Gaudians show any trace of the Paisācī change of sonants into surds though some have the *n* and *ḷ*; nor is any specimen of Paisācī found in the Pr. plays (Ls. 388); the ancient *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇādhya is supposed to have been written in a Paisācī dialect (see Pischel Diss. inaug. 32. 33). Pais. clearly died out at a very early period.

literary Prākṛit (i. e., the Mh.-Śr. and the Mg.). In reality it was merely the illiterate vernacular of the people spoken by the side of the literary Śauraseni and Māgadhi, and certainly more ancient than the literary Mahārāshtri<sup>1</sup>). It follows, then, that the vernacular of the Aryans when spoken by themselves is the Apabhraṃsa, and when spoken by the aborigines, the Paisāchī. The Apabhraṃsa, however, of the Pr. grammarians exhibits the Aryan vernacular, as it was at a rather later period than that in which it became Paisāchī in the mouth of the aborigines<sup>2</sup>). Of the oldest Aryan vernacular (the *Ancient Apabhraṃsa*, as I may call it) which was the contemporary of Paisāchī and probably not greatly different from it, we have no record; unless, indeed, it be the Pālī. In order of time, therefore, Pṣ. comes first, next the Ap. Pr., lastly Gḍ.; but in order of descent the series is: Anc. Ap. (or Pālī), Ap. Pr., Gḍ.<sup>3</sup>).

1) Compare e. g. the past part. pass. Śr. and early Ap. *kadhido* or *kahido*, Mg. *kadhido* or *kahido*, Mh. *kahio*, later Ap. *kahiu*, said.

2) In the time of the later Pr. gramm., at all events, the knowledge of what Pṣ. really was, had become lost. Though, following old tradition, they all give the rules of Pṣ.; yet when they treat of its relation to the Ap., they are constantly confounding the two, and sometimes even invent an altogether new signification for Pṣ., making it equivalent to certain (more or less pure Skr.) styles of Ap. (e. g., R. T. in Ls. 23. & Exc. 6). — The chronological succession of the Pr. gramm. is still far from settled (see Pl. Diss.), but Hemachandra in the 12<sup>th</sup> century A. D., is probably the earliest grammarian, who mentions the Ap., while the first who notices the Pṣ. is Vararuchi in the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. B. C. (see Cw. VI), if not earlier. From this fact, however, it must not be concluded, that no Ap. existed in the time of Vararuchi. For the Ap. Pr. (even as known by H. C.) has some older forms than the Mh. Pr., and the latter is already treated of by Vararuchi. The reason of his omitting all mention of any Ap. was probably, that he intended to treat merely of the high or literary Pr. varieties; and, of course, there would be a literary Pṣ. Pr. variety, whenever the aborigines had to deal with High-Prākṛit.

3) Pais. or Pāl. or Anc. Ap. *kathito*, Ap. Pr. *kadhido* or *kahido*, W. Gḍ. *kahio* or *kahyo* said; Pṣ. *rutito*, Anc. Ap. *rudito*, Ap. *roido*, W. Gḍ. *roio* or *royo* wept; Pāl. *gamito*, Ap. Mg. *gamide* or Ap. Śr. *gamido*, E. Gḍ. *gail* or *geld* or W. Gḍ. *gaio* or *gayo*.

I have spoken of the Apabhraṃṣa or Aryan vernacular. But it must not be supposed that it was everywhere identical. The Aryan immigration gradually extended over an area, too wide to remain the home of one single form of speech. Accordingly the term Apabhraṃṣa must be understood to be the collective name of several Aryan vernaculars, spoken in various parts of North India. It is invariably used in this sense by Pr. grammarians. They always define it to mean the language of „the Abhīras and other similar people“<sup>1</sup>), i. e., briefly, of the lower orders, which constitute the mass of the population everywhere. In their enumeration of the various Ap., each of the provincial *languages* (as we now call them) occurs; e. g., Abhīrī (Sindhī, Maṛwārī), Âvantī (E. Rājputānī), Gaurjarī (Gujarātī), Bāhlīkā (Panjābī), Śaurasenī (W. Hindī), Māgadhī or Prāchyā (E. Hindī), Odri (Orīyā), Gaudī (Bangālī), Dākṣiṇātyā or Vaidarbhikā (Marāṭhī) and Saippalī (Naipālī?)<sup>2</sup>).

It will be noticed that in the above list the same Śaurasenī and Māgadhī Prākṛits are enumerated by the Pr. grammarians as Apabhraṃṣas or vernaculars, which they elsewhere treat of as literary or High-Prākṛits. On the other hand, it will be noted that the (so-called) Mahārāshṭrī Prākṛit does not occur in this list at all; nor, indeed, is it found in any list of Apabhraṃṣas or vernaculars. This shows plainly that the Mh. Pr. was not looked upon as the *vernacular* of any people, and that it did not take its name from the Mahārāshṭra (or Marāṭha) country. Indeed, it is doubtful, by what right that name is given to the particular form of Pr., which commonly bears it. In the oldest Pr. grammar of Vararuchi it is never so called, except once in-

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1) Thus L. Dh. in the Sh. Ch.: *apabhraṃṣas tu bhāṣā syād abhīrā-dīḡirāṃ chayaḥ* (Ls. 12). The Abhīras, or Ahīras as they are now called, are a tribe, members of which are found in every part of North-India. They are cowherds by profession, but are considered by the natives to be a „good“ (Aryan) caste, a sort of inferior Rājputa.

2) See the lists of K. I and R. T. in Ls. 18. & Exc. 5. 7.



cidentally at the end of the chapter on Śaurasenī<sup>1</sup>). Again it is to be remarked that the great grammarians of the West and South, Hemachandra, Trivikrama and Subhachandra, who must have been familiar with the living Marāṭhī vernacular, avoid the name altogether. The dialect in question is called by them simply *the* Prākṛit. They, probably, felt that the name was misleading. It is only in the Pr. grammarians of the East, Kramadeśvara, Mārkaṇḍeya, Lakṣmīdhara, Rāmātarkavāgiṣa, etc., that the name Mahārāshṭrī is distinctly given to the dialect and connected with the Mahārāshṭra country<sup>2</sup>). This goes far beyond what is justified by Vararuchi's incidental use of the term. The probability is that they misunderstood his meaning. For he seems to use the term not as a *proper name*, but as a laudatory or descriptive expression, meaning „the Prākṛit of the great kingdom“ (i. e., of the famed country of the Doāb and Rājputānā, see note 1 on p. XXV) and therefore the *principal* Prākṛit. According to this view the term Mahārāshṭrī is not far from synonymous with what we now call Western Hindī. At all events, whatever interpretation may be given to the term, there can be no doubt that, as a matter of fact, the dialect so called is Western Hindī, and has no one point in common with Marāṭhī, in which the latter differs from Western Hindī (or W. Gaudīan generally). Thus the Mh. Pr. past participle is made with *ia* (or *ya*) as in W. H., not with *al* as in M., the future is made with *iha* as in W. H., not with the auxiliary participle *la* as in M.; and the same is true, as will be shown afterwards (p. XXVII), in regard to the termination of masculine nouns with an *a*-base and to the oblique form or genitive singular. Thus in

1) After finishing his remarks on the Śr., he says: „the rest of that dialect is like the Māhārāshṭrī“ (*śeṣam māhārāshṭrīvat* Vr. 12, 20); whence it is rightly concluded that by the name Mh. he refers to that Pr. dialect, which he had before treated of simply as *the* Prākṛit.

2) Thus K. I. or rather his commentator: „the Prākṛit of the Mahārāshṭra country is the principal Prākṛit“ (*prākṛitam mahārāshṭradeśiyam prakṛiṣṭabhāṣhāyam*); in Ls. 17.

four out of the five important morphological points Mh. Pr. agrees with W. H., and not with M.; the remaining point (the strong form of masculine nouns of an *a-base*), being common to both W. H. and M., is of no account in the question. It appears, then, that the Mh. Pr. is merely a particular form of ancient W. H., or rather since W. H. has become a distinct language in more recent times, of W. Gd. And Śr. Pr., as its name indicates (Śūrasena being nearly the same as Braj), is another form of the same. Together they represent the old W. Gd. speech. This fact is indicated by the peculiar manner of their use in the Pr. plays. For they are not employed as the languages of different peoples, but of different kinds of composition, Mh. for poetry, the Śr. for prose<sup>1</sup>).

It has been already remarked that Pr. grammarians enumerate among the Apabhraṃśas or vernaculars a Māgadhi and a Śauraseni Apabhraṃśa. The two great Pr. varieties, the Māgadhi and the Śauraseni-Māhārāṣṭri, are simply the high or literary forms of these two low of Apabhraṃśa ones. They are, probably, to some extent artificial: yet there can hardly be a doubt — as the following comparison will show — that they have retained the leading peculiarities of the two vernaculars, of which they are the refinements.

The fact that these two vernaculars, the Mg. Ap. and the Śr. Ap., have furnished both the substratum and the name for the two great High-Pr. varieties, proves that they were the two leading vernaculars of North-India, typical of all the others. Accordingly we find that Pr. grammarians (as Mārkaṇḍeya, etc.) arrange the eastern dialects in a great group around the Mg. Pr. as their type. Among those which they name as its members, the following are the most important: the Māgadhi, Arddhamā-

1) Thus Viṣvanātha Kavirāja in the Sahityadarpana says: „noble and educated women, speaking in prose, are to use Śr., but Mh. in speaking in verse“ (see Ls. 35).

gadhí, Dákshinátyá, Utkalí, and Śábarí<sup>1</sup>). Mágadhí is the speech of modern Bihár and (western) Bangál, and corresponds generally to the present Bangálí (incl. of the E. H. dialects, the Mágadh and Maitihílí). Arddhamágadhí is described as a mixture of Mágadhí and Śaurasení (or Máháráshtrí)<sup>2</sup>); it follows that it must have been spoken to the west of Mágadhí, that is, in the Banáras district; it corresponds, therefore, to the Bhojpúrí or the E. H. *proper*. Dákshinátyá is the speech of Vidarbha, the modern Berár<sup>3</sup>) and adjoining districts. It corresponds, therefore, to the Dakhaní, one of the principal dialects of the present Maráthí, and thus to this language generally<sup>4</sup>). Utkalí is the speech of what is now called Orissa, and corresponds to the modern Oríyá. Śábarí is the name of the dialect spoken in the country lying between that occupied by Dákshinátya on the one side and Mágadhí and Utkalí on the other (about the town of Ratnapur and the Mohar mountains). It will be seen, then, that the Mg. group of the Pr. grammarians consists of what we call now the Bangálí, Eastern Hindí, Oríyá and Maráthí languages, at a time when, probably, they were still dialects only of one great speech. Or, in other words, the old Mg. group includes both (what I call) the eastern and southern Gaudian speeches. Accordingly I have given to the two combined the name of the *Mágadhí Prákrit tongue*.

In like manner, the same grammarians arrange the western dialects in a great group around the Śr.-Mh. Pr. as their type.

1) So R. T. in the Prákrit Kálpataru; see Ls. 21.

2) Mā. quotes a saying of Bharata, that it is like Śr. (*saurasenya adirato dā idam eva arddhamágadhí iti bharata*; 12<sup>th</sup> pada, fol. 49); and K. I. 12 (see Ls. 17. 393) connects it with the Mh. (*máháráshtrimiśrárdhamágadhí*). The description of E. H. as Arddhamágadhí, i. e. half mágadhí, is a very good one; for E. H. has affinities with both Bangálí (= Mágadhí) and Western Hindí (= Máháráshtrí-Śaurasení).

3) So in the S. D.: *dákshinátyá vaidarbhi* (see L. 36. 20).

4) Dákshinátya is used to the present day in North India as a synonym for Maráthí; e. g., Maráthí Bráhmans are generally known only as Dákshinátya Bráhmans.

The most important members of this group are the Māhārāshtrī, Śaurasenī, Āvanti, Prāchyā, and Sakki. The Māhārāshtrī and Śaurasenī together represent W. Hindī; but as the future in *ih* is peculiar to Mh., and the fut. in *is* to Śr. (see Ls. 353, 4.), and on the other hand the Br. and Kn. have the fut. in *ih*, but Mw. the fut. in *as* (or *is*), it appears that Mh. corresponds to Br. and Kn., to which may be added Eastern Panjābī, while Śr. corresponds to Mw., and also to G. as having the same future in *as* (or *is*)<sup>1</sup>). Āvanti is the speech of Ujjain and Eastern Rājputānā. Prāchyā, as its name indicates, is the most eastern member of the group and, probably, corresponds to Baiswārī<sup>2</sup>). Sakki is, probably, the speech of Sindh and the Western Panjāb<sup>3</sup>). Thus it appears that the Mh.-Śr. group consists of what we now call Western Hindī, Gujarātī, Panjābī and Sindhī. To these, for reasons previously stated, Naipālī must be added. In other words, the Mh.-Śr. group represents the Western and Northern Gaudian speeches; and accordingly I have called the two combined the *Śaurasenī Prākṛit tongue*.

1) Śūrasenā is the name of the country about Mathura or of the Vraj; but it must be remembered that Śr. and Mh. are with the Pr. grammarians not exactly the names of *lōal*, but of prose and poetic dialects. Vararuchi (or Kātyāyana, the author of the Vārtikas on Pāṇini, see Pl. 12), in whose Pr. grammar the term Mh. first occurs, lived according to Hindū tradition about 56 B. C. at the court of the „great king“ Vikramāditya (see Cw. VI), whose dominions included the whole of N. W. India. The principal „speech of that great country“ or Māhārāshtrī, as Vr. calls it, was taken by him, and after him by all Pr. grammarians, as the standard Prākṛit.

2) Prāchyā is explained in the S. D. as being equivalent to Gauḍī (*prāchyā gauḍiyā*, see Ls. 36) or, apparently, Bangālī. But, on the other hand, Mḍ. makes Prāchyā to be an offshoot of Śaurasenī (*prāchyāsiddhiḥ śaurasenyāḥ* 10<sup>th</sup> pāda, fol. 47); while, according to Dandī (see Ls. 33), the Gauḍī follows the Mg. type. Besides, in another place, in a list of Apabhraṃsas, both Mḍ. and R. T. (see Ls. Exc. 7) distinguish the Prāchā from the Gauḍī. If, then, the Gauḍī is of the Śr. type, it can hardly be anything else than the Baiswārī, the intermediate dialect between E. Gḍ. and W. Gḍ.

3) Sakki is apparently the language of the Sakas (lat. *sacae*, Scythians) who overran W. India and were defeated in a great battle by Vikramāditya. In Sindh, many names of villages and towns contain the name *Saka*; e. g., the town Sakkar on the Indus.

Mg. Pr., then, coincides with S.-E. Gd. and Śr. Pr. with N.-W. Gd. in their geographical limits. It remains to be shown that they do so philologically also. It must be remarked *in limine*, 1) that the particulars noted by the Pr. grammarians with respect to the various Apabhraṃśas are extremely scanty and, for the most part, only phonological. From this it may be justly concluded — what, indeed, is probable a priori — that the Aps. did not materially differ from their respective High-Pr. forms in their great morphological and phonological features; 2) that the silence of the Pr. grammarians as to any particular peculiarity, now found in modern vernaculars, does not necessarily prove its non-existence in their time; for they note only those peculiarities of Pr., which they could, satisfactorily to themselves, trace to a Skr. origin; all others they simply left unnoticed as being *deśya* (see p. XXXVII); 3) that the dialect which is treated of by Pr. gramm., such as Hemachandra, simply as Apabhraṃśa, probably occupied in the western division a position analogous to that of the other which is spoken of simply as Prākṛit; i. e., one is *the* Apabhraṃśa as the other is *the* Prākṛit<sup>1)</sup>. But, as in the case of *the* Pr., so also in the case of *the* Ap. it must, no doubt, be understood, that its rules, unless where the contrary is expressly stated, extend to all other Aps. also.

We now proceed to the examination. Of the already mentioned six important characteristics, the syntactical one (regarding the construction of the past tense) must be at once set aside. The Pr. grammarians never refer to this point at all; and from Pr. writings very little evidence is to be obtained on the subject;

1) With Mđ. this chief Ap. is called Nāgarāpabhraṃśa; he expressly connects it with the Mh.-Śr., *the* Pr. of the western division (*nāgarāṃ tu mahārāshṭrisaurasenyoḥ pratishṭhitam*); e. g., respecting conjugation: *atra cha karēi dhareī ityadau taṇya svaraseshatvam mahārāshṭryāśrayeṇa karēdi dharedi ity, ādau datvam saurasenyāśrayeṇa mantavyam* (17<sup>th</sup> pāda, fol. 53. 55); its identity with W. Gd. is shown by the fact, that Mđ. gives the characteristic W. Gd. possess. pronouns *merā, terā*, to the Nāg. Ap. (*tvadiye teram, madiye meram* 17<sup>th</sup> pāda, fol. 56).

though what little there is makes in favour of my theory (see § 371). There remain, then, the five morphological points. In regard to these, there is a striking coincidence between the evidence of Pr. gramm. and plays on the one hand, and the result of our enquiry concerning the difference of Mg. and Śr., on the other. Thus, *firstly*: Pr. gramm. state that nouns with an *a-base* end in *o* in Śr. P., but in *e* in Mg.; our enquiry shows that in W. Gd. and N. Gd. they end in *o* (or *au*), but in S. Gd. and E. Gd. in *ā*, which vowel appears to be a modification of the Mg. *e* (see §§ 47. 48). *Secondly*: according to the Pr. gramm., the Western (cf. note on pg. XXVI) Ap. Pr. has a genitive singular (= oblique form, § 366) in *ahe*, the Mg. Pr. in *āha*; according to our enquiry W. and N. Gd. have an oblique form in *e*, the S. and E. Gd. in *ā*; here *e* is a modification of *ahe* and *ā* of *āha* (see § 365, 1. 6). *Thirdly*; from our enquiry it appears that W. and N. Gd. use almost exclusively the strong form (in *o*) for *a-bases*, while as to S. and E. Gd., it is used almost exclusively in M., much less in E. H. and very little in B. and O. (see § 205). Now the existence of special rules in Pr. gramm. about the use of the strong form (in *ao* = Skr. *akāḥ*) in the Mh. and Ap. Pr., and its common occurrence in Pr. literature (see Ls. 288. 460. 475. Wb. 69) prove its extreme frequency in the great Mh.-Śr. vernacular. As to the other great vernacular, the Mg., there is only the scanty evidence of Pr. literature; and from this it would appear that the strong form was very frequent in the southern Mg. vernaculars, the Śakari, Śabari and, by analogy, Dākṣhiṇātyā (cf. Ls. 431), but rare in the northern, the Arddhamāgadhi (cf. Ls. 413, 7). There is, then, a sufficiently close agreement in this case also. *Fourthly*; in Gd. the past participle passive is used to make the past tense active. According to our enquiry, the N. and W. Gd. use the past participle in *ia* or *ya*, and the E. and S. Gd. a past participle in *al*. Now Pr. gramm. state that the past participle in *ia* is peculiar to the Mh.-Pr. (Vr. 7, 32. Ls. 363). As to the Mg. Pr. they give no general rule; but in the few cases,

where the past participle is expressly noted, it ends in *ḍa* (see Vr. 11, 15), and from another rule on the nominative it would appear incidentally, that generally the past participle ended in *ida* (Vr. 11, 11. cf. Ls. 396, 4. 6. 400, 3 and H. C. 2, 260. 302). From Pr. literature it appears further, that in the Low-Māgadhī *d* and *ḍ* were apt to be changed into *l* (see Ls. 412. 423). Here again, considering the scanty evidence, the agreement is sufficiently striking<sup>1</sup>). *Fifthly*, our enquiry shows that N. and W. Gḍ. use a future in *ih* or *as*, but E. Gḍ. in *ab* or *ib*. The latter is simply the future participle passive used in an active sense, precisely as E. Gḍ. employs the participle past passive to form an active past tense (see § 487). The W. Gḍ. future in *ih*, however, is also used in E. H. (see § 509); and it is to be noted that both future forms are promiscuously used in it in the sense of the imperative (or precative) and the future (§§ 498. 508, note). Now according to the Pr. gramm., the future in *ih* or *iss* is peculiar to the Mh.-Śr. Pr. (H. C. 3, 166—170. 4, 275), and from Pr. literature it appears that the Mh. form in *ih* was used in Mg. also (see Ls. 413. 434); while the future in *ab* was confined to the lowest kinds of Mg. (Ls. 422; देव *you will give*). The latter future form was evidently considered very low. I know, indeed, only of that *one* instance of its admission into Pr. literature; but under the circumstances, it is sufficient to establish the agreement in question<sup>2</sup>).

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1) It is quite possible that while the High-Mg. had the termination *ida* (or *īḍa*) the Low-Mg. vernaculars generally changed it into *ila* (or *ala*), but that the latter was considered by the Pr. Pandits (supposing that the change of *d* or *ḍ* to *l* had already taken place in their time) altogether too vulgar to be frankly admitted into literature, excepting a few rare cases, such as *kalc* for *kade* or *kaḍe* „done“. Though it is also possible that the universal change of the termination *ida* into *ila* may have taken place after their time.

2) The compound forms of tenses (e. g., the M. future) which constitute another morpholog. character, afford us no help here. These curious formations are neither found in the Pr. gramm. nor in Pr. liter. Either they were considered too vulgar to be noticed, or more probably

As regards the morphological characters, then, my contention that E. and S. Gd. together correspond to the old Mg. Pr., and W. and N. Gd. together to the old Śr. Pr. appears to be fully borne out, considering the kind and amount of evidence, that is available on the subject. It now remains to examine the phonological characters which, according to the Pr. grammarians, distinguish the Mg. Pr. from the Śr.-Mh. Of these the following four are the most important. Mg. changes 1) *s* into *ś* (Vr. 11, 3. H. C. 4, 288); 2) *r* into *ṛ* (H. C. 4, 288); 3) *j* into *y* (Vr. 11, 4. H. C. 4, 292); and 4) *ksh* into *sk* (Vr. 11, 8. H. C. 4, 296). As to the change of *s, r, j* into *ś, ṛ, y* respectively see §§ 16. 18. 20. As to the change of *ksh* into *sk*, according to the Pr. gramm., *ksh* changes in Mh.-Śr. Pr. into *kkh* (Vr. 3, 29. H. C. 2, 4), but exceptionally also into *chchh* (Vr. 3, 30. H. C. 2, 17). Now according to the analogy of all similar changes (e. g., of *st* into *tth* or *tṭh* Vr. 3, 11. 12), *kkh* presupposes a form *sk*, and *chchh* a form *sch*. It follows of necessity that at some period of the Indo-aryan vernacular *ksh* must have been pronounced sometimes as *sk*, sometimes as *sch*. But the link between these two forms *sk* and *sch* is *śk*; for the Mg. speaking people, according to their custom of turning *s* into *ś*, would pronounce *sk* as *śk*, and the palatal *ś* of the latter would gradually palatalize the conjoint *k* into *ch*, making *sch*; finally *sch* would change into *chchh*. Now in the change of *ksh* into *kkh* there are two steps; viz. 1) *ksh* into *sk*, 2) *sk* into *kkh*; but in the change of *ksh* into *chchh* there are four steps, viz. 1) *ksh* into *sk*, 2) *sk* into *śk*, 3) *śk* into *sch*, 4) *sch* into *chchh*. It is plain that if these changes proceeded, on the whole, *pari passu*, the Mg. speaking people would have got only as far as *śk*, when the Mh.-Śr. speakers had already arrived at *kkh*. Now this is almost exactly what Vararuchi states

they did not exist at all at that time, i. e. 6 or 7 centuries ago. It appears that the verb as „to be“ was the only verb used enclitically in Pr. times, and that the employment of the verb *achh* „to be“ and the participle *gd* „gone“ and *ld* „come“ in this manner is of later date.



to have been the case in his time; viz. Mh.-Śr. had *kkh*, but Mg. had *sk*. Here *sk* must be, probably, interpreted as *ṣk* by the general rule regarding the change of sibilants in Mg.<sup>1)</sup> (cf. Ls. 398). But the form *ṣk* was only a passing step in the phonetic evolution, the end of which has been reached long since, and now for some centuries already *ksh* is pronounced *chchh* or *chh* (see § 36). As the change of *s* into *ṣ* is general in B., partial in M., and rare in E. H. (see § 20), it is, accordingly, found that in most old tadbhava words B. and M. have *chh* for *ksh*, but E. H. has *kh* or even *h*<sup>2)</sup>. The rule is not quite strict; nor, indeed, has it ever been so; for many instances exhibiting the Mg. change of *ksh* to *chchh* occur already in the Mh.-Śr. Pr. (see Vr. 3, 30).

Thus it appears from philological considerations not less than geographical ones, that, at some former period of its history, North India was divided between two great forms of speech, which I call respectively the *Śauraseni tongue* and the *Māgadhi tongue*. Roughly speaking, their areas occupied, one the northwestern, the other the southeastern half of North-India. Their boundary line coincided with that which now divides the areas of the N. and W. Gd. from those of the S. and E. Gd. speeches. But there is reason to believe that at a still earlier period the limits of the Mg. area extended further towards the North West. For 1) the following morphological characters of the Mg. tongue are found in different parts of the Śr. area; a) the termination *ā* of the strong masculine nouns with an *a*-base in P. and, to a certain extent, in Br. and Ku.; b) the termination *ā* of the obli-

1) Pr. literature, apparently, has no example of *sk* or *ṣk* (cf. Ls. 408-428); but it has numerous examples of *st*, where H. C. gives *st* (see Cw. 181). H. C. and T. V. have the conjunct *ḥk* with the *jihvāmūliya visarga* for *s*, except in the case of *preksh* „to see“, where, curiously enough, all the steps are actually given: viz. *prekshate* and *peskadi* (or *peṣkadi*) in T. V. 3, 2. 34 and *peṣchadi* or *pechchhāi* in T. V. 3, 2. 32 (cf. H. C. 4, 295. 297).

2) e. g., B. *kāchhe* „near“, „at“, E. H. *kdhi* (Skr. *kakshe*); or B. *māchhi*, M. *māṣi*, E. H. *mākhi* (or *māchhi*) „fly“ (Skr. *makshita*); or B. *dachhin*, M. *daṣin*, E. H. *dakhin* (or *dachhin*) „south“ or *dāhin* „right“ (Skr. *dakṣiṇaḥ*).

que form singular in G., M., E. R. and, again to some extent, in Br. and Kn.; c) the genitive affix, which is not only in E. Gd. (*kai, kar, er, ar*), but also in Br. and Kn. (*kau*) and probably in M. (*chá* or old M. *chiyá*) a modification of the Pr. *kario* (Skr. *kṛtaḥ*), while G., P. S., and, probably, Mw. use one of a different origin (see § 377); d) the compound future in *lā* (or *lo*) which is possessed by N. and E. R. by the side of the Śr. future in *iḥ* (see § 509, 4); e) the past participle in *āl* which is found in E. R., in as much as it is contained in the enclitic *lā* of the compound future, which is a curtailment of the past participle *ailā* „come“ (see § 509, 4). Again 2) there occur in the Śr. area the following phonological characters of the Mg.: a) the change of *l* to *n* is found in N. (in the compound future see § 509, 4) and in G. and P. (in the active affix *nem, nīm*, see § 375); b) the change of *l* to *r* is found also in S. (see § 16, also § 14 on *ñ*). It is also worth noting that the Pr. writers themselves supply indications of the partially Mg. character of E. R. and G.; the latter (called Abhīrī), though generally classed with the Śr. group, is once included by R. T. in the Mg. (see Ls. Exc. 3); and as to E. R. or Āvantī see Ls. 417. 418<sup>1</sup>).

Generally speaking, it will be observed, that the Mg. characteristics, beginning with a very few and isolated traces in the far West, increase in number, as we proceed towards the East, till at last at the present frontier of the E. and S. Gd. areas they predominate so as to constitute the Mg. tongue. These circumstances seem to disclose the fact that sometime in the remote past the Mg. must have reached up to the extreme western frontiers and been the only language of North India; but that in course of time it gradually receded more and more towards the South and East

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1) Still the general character of the Āvantī or E. R. is Śauraseni; thus Mā. calls it expressly „a mixture of Mh. and Śr.“ (*āvantī syān mahārāṣṭrīśaurasenyoḥ tu saṃkarāt, anayoḥ saṃkarāt āvantī bhāṣā siddhā syāt* 11<sup>th</sup> pāda fol. 47<sup>b</sup>); and afterwards he says that Bāhlikī is allied to it (*āvantyaḥ eva bāhlikī* ibid. fol. 48<sup>a</sup>); see also Ls. 435. 436.

before the advancing tide of the Śr. tongue, leaving, however, here and there in the deserted territories, traces of its former presence. What the eastern and southern frontiers of the Mg. may have been in those early times, when it reached to the far West of India, it is impossible to say. Very probably, as it receded before the Śr., it may have conquered fresh territories in the South and East which had not been before occupied by any Aryan tongue. The headquarters of the Śr. tongue, whence it gradually spread toward the North-East and East, appear to have been in western Rājputānā. It is possible, in some measure, to trace the direction and extent of its advancing tide. Thus a) traces of its past participle in *ia* are found as far east as in B. and O. (see §§ 305. 503), but not in M.; b) traces of its oblique form in *e* are found as far east as in the Bh. and M.; c) traces of its future in *iḥ* are found as far east as in Bh. It will be seen, that the tide is fullest in the West (especially in Sindh, the Panjāb and Western Rājputānā), but gradually grows weaker and narrower as it advances eastward, mainly following the course of the broad valley of the Ganges, and working itself like a wedge into the Mg. area, which overlaps it on its southern and northern banks, in the E. R., G. and N., in which the Mg. relics are most noticeable.

From these indications it would appear that the Mg. tongue is the older of the two; that is, that its occupation of North India preceded the development and extension of the Śr. Perhaps this may be taken to point to the fact that two great immigrations of people of the Aryan stock into India took place at different periods, both speaking essentially the same language, though in two different varieties. For there can be no doubt that the two varieties, the Mg. and the Śr., whatever their differences may be, are essentially the same language, of which the Sanskrit variety, being its literary or high form, preserves on the whole the oldest phase. Thus one of the most striking points of identity is the ancient Skr. present tense active, which is preserved to the present day

in all Gd. languages of North-India alike (see § 474)<sup>1)</sup>. Even in those cases where the outward shape or grammatical use of a particular form widely diverged, the original unity can be traced by easy and natural steps. Thus as to outward shape, the E. Gd. future in *ab* or *ib* can be traced back (see § 314) to the ancient participle future passive in *tavya* (or *itavya*), and the E. and S. Gd. past tense in *al* or *il* to the ancient past participle passive in *ta* (or *ita*), which, in an other direction, has given rise to the N. and W. Gd. participle in *ia*. These two instances are also examples of a change in grammatical use. For in E. Gd. the two participles, which had originally a passive sense and indeed have it still in S. and W. Gd., are used to form active tenses, viz. the participle future passive in *itavya* to form the future active in *ab* or *ib*, and the participle past passive in *ita* to make the past active in *al* or *il*. Here the intransitive verbs, the „passive“ of which naturally becomes a „middle voice“, afford the connecting link (see §§ 303, note. 309. 371. 487).

We have traced the Mg. tongue back to the extreme western frontiers of North India. Beyond that line lie the areas of the Pashtú and Káfirí languages. They immediately adjoin that of the present Panjábí. Trumpp in his essays on those two languages<sup>2)</sup> has called attention to their many affinities with the Gaudians. Among these there are some with both of the principal varieties of Gd., the N.-W. Gd. or Šr. and the S.-E. Gd. or Mg. But what is, perhaps, more remarkable than the mere fact of their affinity is that, in some of the oft-mentioned great test-points, they — and more especially the Pashtú — exhibit decided Mg. characteristics. Thus a) the masculine strong form of *a-bases* ends in Pashtú with *ai*, corresponding to E. and S. Gd. *á*, Mg. Pr. *æ*; b) the past \*participle ends with *alai* (strong form) or *al* (weak form)

1) Modern M. is an exception in using this old pres. tense as a habitual past; but old M. retains it as a present tense.

2) See J. G. O. S. vol. 20 pg. 377 and vol. 21 pp. 10 ff. 28.

corresponding to (strong form) *alá* in M. and (weak form) *al* in E. H. <sup>1)</sup>; c) the Káfiri has a compound future made with the enclitic participle *la*, just like the M. future and the E. H. present <sup>2)</sup>; d) the auxiliary verb has in Pashtú an initial *ś*, like the initial *s* of M., which is a modification of the E. Gd. *chh* <sup>3)</sup>; e) Pashtú like M. has a double set of palatals, viz. *ch* and *ts*, *j* and *dz*. Lastly f) Pashtú has the dative affix *lah*, like the M. *lá*, and the dative affix *vatah*, like the E. H. *batē* or *bare*.

It would appear from this, that the Mg. Pr. and the Pashtú and Káfiri were once in close connection, perhaps one language; and that, at some time in the remote past, they became separated by the Śr. Pr. tongue, like a wedge, cleaving them asunder and gradually pushing the Mg. farther and farther away towards the east.

Accordingly four periods may be distinguished in the linguistic history of India. First, when the Mg. tongue, in some form, was the only Aryan vernacular in North India. Secondly, when the Śr. tongue existed there beside the Mg. Thirdly, when these were broken up, each into two speeches, the W. and N. Gd. and the E. and S. Gd. Fourthly, when these four speeches were subdivided into the several Gd. languages. The last period is that now prevailing. As to the date of the first period we know nothing. The earliest Pr. grammar of Vararuchi (1<sup>st</sup> cent. B. C. or earlier) already discloses, in the second period, the two great

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1) e. g., weak form Psh. *kʰal* = E. H. *kayal*, B. *karil* = Ap. Mg. \**karide*, Skr. *kṛtaḥ*; and strong form Psh. *kayalai* = M. *kelá* (for *kailá* = *karild*) = Ap. Mg. \**karidae*, Skr. *kṛtakāḥ*. — The other, i. e. the Śr., form of the past part. also occurs in Psh. It ends in *a* quiescent (weak form) or in *ai* (strong form), precisely as in W. and N. Gd.; e. g., weak form Psh. *kar* or *krah* „done“, O. H. *kar* or *kari* = Ap. Pr. *kariū*, Mb. Pr. \**kario*, Skr. *kṛtaḥ*; strong form Psh. *karai* = Bs. *kará* or Br. *karau* or *karyau* = Ap. Pr. *kariaū*, Mb. Pr. \**kariao*, Skr. *kṛtakāḥ*. But it should be remembered that the E. Gd., too, has both part., to make the first and second preterites, see §§ 503. 505.

2) e. g., Kf. 3. sg. *balde* „he will say“ = M. *bolel*, E. H. *bolaild*.

3) e. g., Kf. *śi* „he is“ = M. *ase*, O. *chhe* or *achhe*, B. *chhe* or *áchhe*.

divisions of the Śr. and Mg. in occupation of North India. The earliest Gd. literature exhibits the third period already existing; for in the Western Gaudian poet Chand (end of 12<sup>th</sup> cent. A. D.) W. H., P. and G. are indistinguishable; in the Southern Gaudian poets Námdeva and Dnándeva (end of 13<sup>th</sup> cent. A. D.) M. is seemingly separate; in the Eastern Gaudian poet Bidyápati (middle of 14<sup>th</sup> cent. A. D.<sup>1</sup>) B. and E. H. are as yet one language. The later Gd. writers of the 15<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> cent. (as the W. Hindí Kabír, the E. Hindí Tulsí Dás, the Bangálí Kabi Kankan, the Oriya Upendro Bhanj, the Maráthí Tukarám, the Gujarátí Narsingh Mehta; see Bs. I, 82—96) show the modern division of the Gd. languages already existing.

*Note.* I believe, it will be found on closer examination of the W. II. that its two dialects, the Mw. and Br., must, in reality, be classed as two different languages of the W. Gd. group, in the same sense as P. and G. For Mw. and Br. differ from each other in the same degree, as either of those two from P. and G. Thus in declension: 1) the termin. of the obl. form sg. of strong masc. nouns of the *a*-base is *á* in Mw., but *e* in Br.; here Mw. agrees with G., but Br. with P.; e. g., Mw. *ghorá ro*, G. *ghodá no* „of a horse“; Br. *ghore kuu*, P. *ghore dá*; 2) Mw., like S., uses no active case-affix; but Br. has *ncm*, corresponding to P. *nai*; e. g., Mw. *ghorai*, G. *ghodáe*, „by a horse“; Br. *ghore ncm*, P. *ghore nai*. In conjugation: 1) Mw., like G., forms the fut. ind. with the suff. *as*, but Br. with *ih*; e. g., Mw. *karasi*, G. *karase* but Br., *karihái* „he will do“; 2) the auxiliary verb has *chh* in Mw. and G., but *h* in Br. and P.; e. g., Mw. *chhai*, G. *chhe* „he is“; Br. and P. *hai*; etc.

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1) Or, according to Beames (Ind. Antiquary Febr. 1873), middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> cent.

Table of Affinities.

Literary.	High = Vernaculars = Low. Ancient Sansk.				Semi- aryan.
Class. Skr.	Páli	Anc. Ap.			Pais.
	Mh.-Śr., Mg.	Ap. Mg.		Ap. Śr.	
		E. Gd.	S. Gd.	W. Gd.	N. Gd.
	H. B., H. H., etc.	O., B., E. H.	M.	W. H., P., G., S.	N.
					Urdú.

## EASTERN HINDI LITERATURE.

As regards E. H. literature, there is very little to be said. In the E. H. proper or the Bhojpúri there is, apparently, no literature whatever, either prose or poetry. All my inquiries on this subject have been alike fruitless. I have heard people say, that there are a few poems in the more easterly dialects of the E. H., as the Maithilí. But I suspect the reference was to the well known religious songs of Bidyapati and others of the Vaishnava school. These, however, belong to the earlier period, in which E. H. was not yet separate from B. The only specimens of literature of the strictly E. H. period are the writings of Tulsí Dás, especially his great work, the Rámáyan, a Hindí version of the well known story of Ráma, though not by any means a translation of Válmiki's famous Sanskrit work of the same name. The language of Tulsí Dás, however, is not E. H. proper or Bhojpúri, but the Baiswári, which is a dialect formed by a mixture of W. and E. H. (see pp. V. VI). Tulsí Dás was a native of Hájipúr, a village near the celebrated hill of Chitrakúta in the state of Riwá, about 50 miles S. E. of the town of Bandá in Bandelkhand. He lived from 1541 to 1624. Once he made a journey to Brindaban (and Delhi?); but for the most part he lived in Benares as minister of the Rájá of that town. For some more, mainly legen-

day particulars of his life, see Garcin de Tassy's *histoire de la littérature Hindouie* vol. 3, pp. 235—244, where also some other less known works of his are enumerated.

All the other celebrated Hindí poets wrote in some dialect of W. H., generally Br. or Kn. The oldest of them is Chand Bardaí, who was a native of Lahore, but lived at the court of Prithiráj, the last Hindú ruler of Delhi, at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> cent. He is the author of the *Prithiráj Rasau*, an epic poem recounting the exploits of that monarch. He belongs, however, strictly speaking, to the pre-Hindí period, when W. H. was not as yet separate from P. and G. Next to him come Kabír of Benares in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> cent., the author of the *Ramainis* and *Śabdas*. After him are Súr Dás of Mathurá, Nabháji and Keshava Dás of Bijapúr, the authors respectively of the *Súrságar*, the *Bhaktamálá* and the *Rámchandrika*, etc. They flourished in the 16<sup>th</sup> cent., during the reigns of Akbar and Shah Jehan, the Augustan age of North India. Then follow Bihári Lál of Ambir near Jaipúr, the author of the *Satsai*, and Lál Kavi from Bāndelkhāṇḍ, the author of the *Chhatra Prakaś*, in the 17<sup>th</sup> cent. For further particulars as to the lives and works of all these poets, see the respective articles in Garcin de Tassy's *hist. de la litt. Hind.* They all were natives of Western Hindústán, except Kabír, whose sect (the Kabír-panthis) still numbers most of its adherents in the E. H. area. He was born in or near Benares, and died and is buried in Magahar near Gorakhpúr in the Benares district. Yet his writings are certainly not in E. H., but in W. H. The fact is strange and has not, I think, been sufficiently noticed. Though he afterwards became a Hindú and even the founder of a Hindú sect, he was brought up originally by his Muhammedan foster-father in his own religion; and apparently he spent some part of his life in or near Delhi at the time of the emperor Sikandar Lodi. Perhaps one or both of these facts may be the reason of the peculiarity.



## THE TERMS TATSAMA, TADBHAVA, etc.

The term *tatsama* means lit. „the same as it“ or *Sanskritic*. It denotes properly those Gaudian words which have retained exactly the same form as they wore in Sanskrit; e. g., E.H. *bhrátá* „brother“, *rájá* „king“. But practically it includes all words which have been reintroduced into the Gd. directly from the Skr., though in the process they have undergone slight phonetic changes, analogous to, but not so thorough as those which have been suffered by the *tadbhava* words (see §§ 40 ff.); e. g., E. H. *chhamá* „forgiveness“, for Skr. *kshamá*; E. H. *ágyá* „command“, for Skr. *ájñá*; E. H. *bisnu* „Vishnu“, for Skr. *vishṇuḥ*; E. H. *kripá* „mercy“, for Skr. *krpá*; E. H. *karam* „work“, for Skr. *karma*; E. H. *putar* „son“, for Skr. *putraḥ*. These might be called *semitatsamas*.

The term *tadbhava* means lit. „having the same nature as it“ or *Prákrític*<sup>1)</sup>. It denotes those Gd. words which, though the same in substance as in Skr., are considerably different in form. Practically, it includes all those words which have come into Gd. from the Prákrit, and not from the Skr. In the E. H. these

1) Pr. Gramm. distinguish two kinds of *tadbhavas*; thus S. R. (fol. 1<sup>a</sup>) *saṃskṛtabhavadṣ cha dvidhā, siddhyamānasamskṛtabhavadṣ siddhasamskṛtabhavadṣ cheti*; i. e. „there are two kinds of words which have the same nature as in Sanskrit; viz. those which must be shown to be so, and those which are admittedly so.“ It is not quite clear, however, wherein the distinction exactly consists, as no examples are given. Probably such forms are referred to, as *ráti* and *ratti* „night“ (H. C. 2, 88), both for Skr. *rátriḥ*. The latter (*ratti*) is a *siddha tadbhava*, for its identity with the Skr. *rátriḥ* is evident and follows from the general rules (viz. H. C. 2, 79. 1, 84); but the former (*ráti*) is a *siddhyamāna tadbhava*, because its identity must be established by a special rule (viz. H. C. 2, 58). It will be seen that the distinction is analogous to what in Gd. I have distinguished as *semitatsamas* from the proper *tadbhavas* (as *putar* and *pūt* „son“), or to Beames' distinction of *late* and *early tadbhavas* (see Bs. I, 13 – 17). But our „*semitatsamas*“ or „*late tadbhavas*“ are not identical with the Pr. Gramm. *siddha tadbhavas*; for the former *ex hypothesi* have not come through the Pr. at all, but are directly resuscitated from the Skr. at various periods. For this reason, and because they are clearly nearer in form to the pure tats. than to the pure tadbh., I have preferred to class them as a subdivision of tats. rather than (as Bs.) of tadbh.

words are generally obtained from the A. Mg.; but sometimes from the Śr. Thus compare the following prakritic words with the above list of sanskritic ones: Ē. H. *bhātī* „brother“ for A. Mg. *bhāic*; E. H. *rāy* „king“ for A. Mg. *līyā* or *lād*; E. H. *khet* „field“ for A. Mg. *khettam* (Skr. *kshetram*); E. Ĥ. *dāhin* „right“ for Pr. *dāhiṇam* (Cw. 100. Skr. *dākshīnam*); E. H. *ān* „order“ for Mg. *aññā* (H. C. 4, 293); E. H. *kānḥ* „krishṇa“ for A. Mg. *kaṇhe* (Skr. *krishṇaḥ*); E. H. *kisān* „husbandman“ for A. Mg. *kisāne* (Skr. *kṛshāṇaḥ*); E. H. *kām* „work“ for A. Mg. *kamme*; E. H. *pūt* „son“ for A. Mg. *putte*; etc. It should be remembered that the Gḍs. are not descended from the high or literary (Mh.-Śr. and Mg.) Pr., but from the low vernacular or Ap. (Śr. and Mg.) Pr. This fact explains, why some Gḍ. tadbhava words show a higher state of preservation than that observed in the corresponding words of the High-Pr.; for, in some instances, the latter had suffered a greater amount of decay than those of the Low-Pr. Generally speaking, the Low-Pr. is more tenacious of medial consonants than High-Pr. (see Ls. 396. 457). Thus E. H. *rāti* „night“, Āp. (Mg.) Pr. *latti* (cf. H. C. 4, 330), but High-Mh. Pr. *rāi* (Vr. 3, 58, but also *ratti*); E. H. *khāil* „eaten“, Ap. (Mg.) Pr. *khāida*, but Mh. Pr. *khāio*. Sometimes the more and the less perfect forms exist side by side; as E. H. *gaīs* (= *gāi* + *s* „thou wentest“), for Ap. (Śr.) Pr. *gaīn si* or *gaīdo si* or *gamido si* (Pāli *gamito si*, High-Mh. Pr. *gao si* or *gado si*) and E. H. *gaitēs* or *gaītēs* „thou wentest“, for Ap. (Mg.) Pr. *gaīda si* or *gamide si*. Hence, in some cases, it will always be doubtful whether a particular form must be considered as prakritic or sanskritic. Thus E. H. has both *nair* (or *nayar*) and *nagar* „town“; the former is clearly a tadbhava for A. Mg. *ṇayalam* or *ṇaalam*; but the latter may be either a tatsama for Skr. *nagaram* or a tadbhava for Ap. Mg. *ṇagalam*.

Native grammarians add the *deśya*, as a third division, to the tatsama and tadbhava<sup>1</sup>). The term *deśya* means lit. „belonging

1) Thus S. R. (fol. 1<sup>a</sup>) *iha prakṛtaśabdās tridhā, saṃskṛtaśabdās saṃskṛtabhavaḥ deśyāś cheti*; i. e. „there are three kinds of Prakṛit words, viz. the same as Skr., of like nature as Skr., and provincial (or country born).“

to the country", i. e., *provincial* or perhaps *aboriginal*. They designate by this name all those words which they are unable to derive satisfactorily to themselves from some Skr. word and, therefore, consider to have had their origin in the country (i. e., *rure* or *provincia*). In what way exactly they suppose them to have originated is not clear; namely whether borrowed from the aborigines, or invented by the rustic Aryans themselves in post-sanskritic times (Beames I, 12), or so corrupted by their common parlance from a Skr. original as to make them unrecognisable. The last seems to me the most probable, to judge from the sentiment of modern Paṇḍits on the subject. The results of modern research tend towards diminishing the number of these *deśya* words, by discovering, through means unknown to native grammarians, their real origin and tracing them back to Pr. and Skr. In so far, they make in support of the opinion of those grammarians. But the question, as to whether they are or are not Aryan, is by no means decided thereby. A word may be Prākritic or Sanskritic, and yet may not be Aryan. Whatever non-Aryan elements there may be in the Indo-aryan languages, they must have been incorporated in the earliest times; i. e., at the period, when *Pañśācī* and the Ancient *Apabhramṣa* were spoken by the subject aborigines and their Aryan conquerors respectively, and when old Sanskrit was the Aryan high language; a period which was anterior to that of what is now commonly called (classical) Sanskrit.

Natives distinguish between the *theṭh* or *gāmvārī* and the *khari* or *nāgarī bhāṣā*. *Theṭh* means *genuine* or *pure* and *gāmvārī* means *rustic* or *vulgar* (from *gāṇ* = *grāma* „village“); again *khari* means *standard* and *nāgarī* *urban* or *cultivated* (from *nagar* „town“). The relation of these two *bhāṣās* is analogous to that of English or rather of the South-German dialects as spoken in the towns or by the educated and the same as in the mouth of the village peasantry. The difference exist mainly in the pronunciation and in the vocabulary. Thus, in the *theṭh bhāṣā* the auxiliary verb is pronounced *bārai* or *bārai*, but in the *khari bhāṣā* *bātai*. Again in the latter, tatsama and even Urdū words are much more frequently employed than in the former which is almost entirely destitute of them. The specimens of E. II. appended to this grammar, being written by a Paṇḍit, are rather in the *khari* than in the *theṭh bhāṣā*.

## FIRST SECTION. ON LETTERS AND SOUNDS.

## 1. CHAPTER. THE ALPHABET.

1. The E. H. is commonly written in the *Kaithí* (कैथी or कड़्यी) alphabet. Its name is derived from Káyath (Skr. कायस्य), the designation of the writer-caste among the Hindús. Though it has a general resemblance to the modern Devanágari, there are but few of its letters, which do not exhibit some points of difference; indeed, as will be seen by a reference to the table, all the vowels, and the consonants *kh*, *ch*, *jh*, *bh*, *d*, *dh* and *r* differ entirely in the two alphabets; and the horizontal top-line is omitted by the Kaithí in all letters alike<sup>1</sup>). It will be further noticed, that in Kaithí the consonants *k* and *ph*, *p* and *dh*, *r* and *l* very closely resemble each other, being distinguished in each case merely by the addition of a hook or curve to the latter; again, that there is only one sign for each of the following groups of Nágari letters: 1) ण (properly = *n*) for the nasals ण *ñ*, अ *ñ*, ए *ñ*, न *n*; 2) श (a combination of *s* and *ṣ*) for the sibilants स *s*, श *ṣ*, ष *sh*; 3) व for the labials ब *b* and व *v*; 4) य (properly = *j*) for the palatals य *j* and य *y*; and also that of the two forms of *ch* one is very much like to one of the two forms of *dh*, the other to one of the two forms of *y*. For the vowels Kaithí has only four fundamental signs: अ *ä*, इ *ī*, ए *ē*, ओ *ō*. The others

1) Sometimes a series of lines is first ruled across the page, and the letters are afterwards hung on to them. These lines must not be confounded with the top-line of the Devanágari, and in native writing the two are easy to distinguish.

are distinguished by diacritical marks, as shown in the table. In Manuscripts the initial *ī* and *ū* are rarely distinguished from *ṛ* and *ṝ* or the medial *ū* from *ṝ*. It will be seen that altogether the Kaithī alphabet has only *twenty nine* distinct signs. It is used in printing as well as in writing; but owing to the preponderance of H. H., which has adopted the Devanāgarī, the latter is much more common in books. I shall adopt it in this work also, as the more generally known of the two.

2. *Affinities.* Four principal types of alphabet are used in North-India; the Kaithī, the Bangālī, the Oriyā and the Gurmukhī. The Kaithī is the most widely spread; it is used in writing not only in Eastern, but also, slightly modified, in Western Hindústān, Marāthā and Gujarāt. In G. and sometimes in E. H. it is adopted also in print. The Bangālī, Oriyā and Gurmukhī are used in Bangāl, Orissā and the Panjāb respectively, in writing and printing. The Gurmukhī probably takes its name from being originally used in committing to writing the oral traditions of the Sikh Gurus (Nānak, etc.). The general likeness of these four types to one another as well as to the older Kutila and Gupta is unmistakeable, though their exact relation among themselves, their origin and age are matters not as yet fully elucidated. For some account of them see Bs. I, 54 ff. Besides these, there are two sub-types much in use in the area occupied by the Kaithī, to which they are the most nearly related. These are the Nāgarī or Devanāgarī and the Mahājani or Kothivāl. The first is an improvement, the second a corruption of the Kaithī or of its more ancient original. The exact meaning of the term Devanāgarī (divine-city alphabet) is uncertain; but it suggests its being, as it certainly is, a caligraphic (polished or sacred) writing. The Mahājani (mercantile) is, as its name implies, the short-hand writing of the merchants and bankers, their *Kothivāl* or, *of-see-writing*; and is still commonly used by them. The Devanāgarī, on the other hand, is the type adopted for printing in Hindī and Marāthī; and as it is exclusively taught in the schools, it

will probably in course of time entirely supersede the Kaithī; perhaps not altogether an advantage, as it can be written with less rapidity and ease than its rival.

### 1.. VOWELS.

3. The E. H. possesses fifteen vowels; a *neutral* and fourteen distinct ones. The latter consist of seven pairs, each containing a short and a long one. They are  $\underline{a}$ ;  $\tilde{a}$ ,  $\underline{ā}$ ;  $\tilde{ā}$ ,  $\underline{i}$ ;  $\tilde{i}$ ,  $\underline{ū}$ ;  $\tilde{ū}$ ,  $\underline{e}$ ;  $\tilde{e}$ ,  $\underline{ō}$ ;  $\tilde{ō}$ ,  $\underline{ai}$ ;  $\tilde{ai}$ ,  $\underline{au}$ ;  $\tilde{au}$ . Five of these, the neutral vowel and the short  $\tilde{e}$ ,  $\tilde{ō}$ ,  $\tilde{ai}$ ,  $\tilde{au}$  are, according to the usual view, unknown to the Sanskrit phonetic system, and therefore have no place in the native grammatical scheme of sounds and characters. But in order to avoid the inconvenience of two different sounds being denoted by the same sign, I have ventured to introduce into the E. H. alphabet, used in this treatise, five new characters. For the short  $\tilde{e}$ ,  $\tilde{ō}$ ,  $\tilde{ai}$ ,  $\tilde{au}$  I shall adopt the Gurmukhī or Bangālī forms of the ordinary Nāgarī signs, which differ from the latter merely in having a serpentine form. ( ` and ` ) instead of a slightly curved one ( ` and ` ). For the neutral vowel I shall adopt a dot ( . ) placed after the consonant in the same manner as a stroke ( | ) is placed after it to denote the long  $\tilde{a}$ ; in transliterating I shall use the *apostrophe*. Accordingly the signs of the fifteen E. H. vowels are as follows:

*Initial:* — अ ऌ आ इ ई उ ऊ ए ऐ ओ औ ऐ  $\tilde{ai}$  ऐ  $\tilde{ai}$  औ  $\tilde{au}$  औ  $\tilde{au}$   
*Noninit.*: — ँ — ँ ँ ँ ँ ँ ँ ँ ँ ँ ँ ँ ँ ँ ँ

*Note:* The neutral vowel requires no initial form, as it never occurs in the beginning. The short  $\tilde{a}$  has no non-initial form, as it is inherent in the consonant, which could not be pronounced without it. When it is necessary to indicate the mere consonant, an oblique stroke, called the *virāma* or *stoppage*, is appended to the consonantal sign; thus क  $\tilde{a}$ , but क  $\tilde{a}$ . The manner of writing the non-initial signs may be seen from the following examples; क  $\tilde{a}$ , क  $\tilde{ā}$ , का  $\tilde{a}$ , कि  $\tilde{a}$ , को  $\tilde{a}$ , कु  $\tilde{a}$ , कू  $\tilde{a}$ , के  $\tilde{e}$ , के  $\tilde{ā}$ , को  $\tilde{e}$ , को  $\tilde{ā}$ , कै  $\tilde{ai}$ , कै  $\tilde{ā}$ , कौ  $\tilde{au}$ , कौ  $\tilde{ā}$ .

4. The neutral vowel is the shortest possible vocal utterance, and very obscure in its character. It may be compared to the English *u* in *but*; but it is shorter and more indistinct; like the vowel in the final syllables *ble* or *tre*, as in *incomiable*, *centre*. It resembles the Hebrew *Sh'va mobile*; just as *ē* is like the Hebrew *Khateph Segol*, and *ō* like the Hebrew *Khateph Qamez*.

5. The five special E. H. vowels are principally met with in the following places:

a) the neutral vowel is pronounced: 1) often in rustic speech, at the end of a word, instead of the *quiescent* *ā* (see § 24), as घर- *ghar'* house, for घर *ghar*; and 2) in the penultimate of any word having more than two syllables and ending in a heavy one; as घर-वा *ghar'vá* house; घोड़ा-वा *ghōṛ'vá* horse; कर-तो *kar'tō* if I did; पढ़-लो *parh'lō* I read, etc. A compound consisting of two polysyllabic words is treated as if the words were distinct.

b) the short *ē*, *ō*, *aī*, *aū* occur 1) always in the antepenultimate; e. g., बेटीया *bēṭiyā* daughter; पड़ोसिया *parōsiyā* neighbouring; लोढ़वा *lōḍ'vá* vessel; बोलावत *bōlāvat* calling; 2) optionally in the genitive affixes के *kē* and कै *kāi* as घर के *ghar kē* of the house (see § 372); 3) in the short pronominal forms in ह् (see § 433), as तेह कर *jēh kar* of which (but ते कर *jē kar*); 4) in the conjugational suffixes ऐस् *ēs*, ऐन् *ēn* and ऐँ *āi* (see §§ 504. 506); as कर-तेस् *kar'tēs* (if) thou didst; पढ़-लेस् *parh'lēs* he read; रह-लेस् *rah'lēs* thou remainedst; कर-तेन् *kar'tēn* (if) they did; पढ़-लेन् *parh'lēn* they read; कर-तैँ *kar'tāi* (if) they did; पढ़-लैँ *parh'lāi* they read; 5) in the suffix ए *ē* of the conjunctive participle (§ 490), as कहै के *kahē kē* having said; 6) in some frequently used words, as और *aūr* or औ *aū* and (see § 26).

6. *Affinities.* The short vowels (they are not diphthongs) *ē* and *ō* must have existed in Pr. already; thus before conjuncts, as in पोढ़ा (or पिढ़ा for निढ़ा Vr. 1, 12), पोड़ु (for नीउ Vr. 1, 19), सेव (for शैव्य Vr. 1, 35), सेता (for शय्या Vr. 1, 5), सेवा, ऐक (for सेवा, एक Vr. 3, 58), etc.; and मोता (for मुक्ता Vr. 1, 20), तोवुप (for योवन Vr. 1, 41), तेलोव (for त्रैलोवच Vr. 3, 58), etc.

See *Ls.* 145. 149. *Cw.* XVIII. Their existence, however, is, I believe, nowhere distinctly noticed by *Pr. Gramm.*, except in the *Ap. Pr.* by H. C. (4, 410) and T. V. (3, 4. 68), कादिस्यैदोतोर उच्चारणाद्यम् । i. e., after consonants *ḍ* and *ḍ* are usually pronounced short. — Both the short vowels *ḍ*, *ḍ*, *aḍ*, *aḍ* and the neutral vowel are peculiar to *E. Gd.* The subject, however, has been as yet little attended to by *Gd. Grammarians*. As regards the short vowels, *B.* shows the short *ḍ*, e. g., in ऐक् *ḍk one*, and short *ḍ* in गोम् *gōm wheat*, बोलै *bōle he speaks*, etc. *Oriyá*, generally, follows the example of *B.* (see *Bs.* I, 69). It is usual, apparently, to substitute *ḍ* for *ḍ* in writing; thus *B.* गम्, बले; the same as occasionally in *E. H.* (see § 26). It is probable, that originally all *Gd. languages* possessed *ḍ* and *ḍ*; *S.* has still preserved the *ḍ* in some cases, but ordinarily it reduces *ḍ* to *ḍ*, and always *ḍ* to *ḍ* (see *Tr.* X—XIII). The other *W. Gd. languages* always substitute *ḍ* and *ḍ* for *ḍ* and *ḍ* (as to *ḍ* and *ḍ* in *P.* see *Ld.* 4); even the *E.-Gds.* do so occasionally, see § 26 (cf. *S. Ch.* 330). The *Psh.* has both *ḍ* and *ḍ* (see *Tr. J. G. O. S.* XXI, 33—35). — In *B.* the final of the weak adjectives, is pronounced like *ḍ*, e. g., अत्र *bōrō great*; but it must not be confounded with the real *ḍ* which is a shortening of ओ *ó*, while this *ḍ* is a modification of अ *ḍ*; as shown by *O.*, which pronounces *ḍ*; e. g., अत्र *bārā*. *E. H.* agrees with the *W.* and *S. Gds.* in dropping the vowel *ḍ* at the end of all words; see § 24. On the other hand, both the *Psh.* and *Kf.* still retain it (see *Tr. J. G. O. S.* XXI, 33. XX, 393). — In tatsamas with a conjunct ग् or ख् before the final च, the latter is commonly pronounced, as योग्य *yogyā worthy*, तत्त्व *tatva substance*.

*Note:* The elision of a medial neutral vowel produces a conjunct consonant. Consequently in *H. H.* and in *M.* a conj. cons. is sometimes written, as *H. H.* बिनती *bin'tī* for बिनन्ती *bin'ntī petition*, *H. H.* दुल्हा *dul'hā* for दुल्हन्हा *dul'hā bridegroom*, *M.* राम्या *rāmyā* for रामन्वा *rām'yā Rām*, or घोड्या *ghoḍ'yā* for घोडन्वा *ghoḍ'yā of a horse* (obl. form). It would be well, if this system of phonetic spelling were carried out uniformly.



7. The E. H. does not possess the four vowels ऋ *ṛi*, ए *ṛi*, लृ *lṛi*, लृ *lṛi* of the Skr. phonetic system. Even in Skr. they occur rarely and are more or less artificial. In Pr., they had already disappeared; consequently they could not well survive in the modern Gd. In Hindī certainly, whether E. or W., they are never pronounced. In H. H. it is customary to write ऋ *ṛi* in tats. words; but in speaking the syllable *ṛi* or even इ *ir* is always substituted; thus Skr. अमृत *ambrosia* is always pronounced *amrit* (अमिर्त्) or *amirt* (अमिर्त्); Skr. कृपा *favor kripá* (क्रिपा) or *kīrpá* (किर्पा). Perhaps it would be well to follow the example of the old Prákrit Grammarians and apply their system of phonetic spelling to our modern H. H. also. In any case it is incorrect to enumerate these four vowels or any of them as parts of the Hindī phonetic system.

8. *Nasalization*. In E. H. a vowel is pronounced in many words with a nasal tone, precisely as *n* or *m* in such French words, as *compensation*. This tone is indicated by the symbol (◌̃), called the *arddhachandra* (*halfmoon*); the tone itself is called *anunásika* (*co-nasal*); see § 23. I shall transliterate it by a *circumflex*. It generally occurs with a long vowel, rarely with a short one or with the semivowels *y* and *v*; e. g., रहन्ते *rah'tō*, लेई *leī*, कोई *koī*, होई *hōih*, नींद *nīd*, or चललै *chalalā*, कुंई *kuār*, कुंई *kuārī*, जाँई *jāy*, जाँई *jāy*.

9. *Derivation and affinities*. The *anunásika* generally (except occasionally before *h* and *v*, see § 67) indicates the elision of a consonant, i. e., of a nasal, when it occurs between two vowels (§§ 127.128), and of the first part of a conjunct when it stands before a consonant (§ 149). The first case alone occurs in later Pr.; neither of them in earlier Pr. or in Skr.; both are common in all Gds.; see § 23.

## 2. CONSONANTS.

10. The E. H. possesses *thirty five* consonants. They consist of twenty consonants proper or *mutes*, five *nasals*, nine *semi-*

*vowels* and one *sibilant*. They may be further classified according to the organ of utterance into gutturals, palatals, cerebrals (or *mūrdhanya*), dentals, labials, and according to the degree of audibility into *surd* or hard and *sonant* or soft ones; as exhibited in the following table.

	Consonants proper				Nasals sonant	Semivowels sonant or soft		Sibilants surd
	surd or hard		sonant or soft					
	unasp.	aspir.	unasp.	aspir.	unasp.	unaspirate	aspirate	unasp.
guttural	क् <i>k</i>	ख <i>kh</i>	ग् <i>g</i>	घ <i>gh</i>	ङ <i>ṅ</i>	—	ह <i>h</i>	—
palatal	च् <i>ch</i>	छ <i>chh</i>	ज् <i>j</i>	झ <i>jh</i>	ञ <i>ṇ</i>	य <i>y</i>	—	—
cerebral	ट् <i>ṭ</i>	ठ् <i>ṭh</i>	ड् <i>ḍ</i>	ढ् <i>ḍh</i>	ण <i>ṇ</i>	र <i>r</i>	ऌ <i>ṛh</i>	—
dental	त् <i>t</i>	थ् <i>th</i>	द् <i>d</i>	ध् <i>dh</i>	न <i>n</i>	र <i>r</i> or ल <i>l</i>	ह् <i>rh</i> or ल् <i>lh</i>	स् <i>s</i>
labial	प् <i>p</i>	फ् <i>ph</i>	ब् <i>b</i>	भ् <i>bh</i>	म् <i>m</i>	व <i>v</i>	—	—

11. The E. H. palatals are pronounced like the English. Natives, generally good judges in such matters, do not seem, as far as I could learn from them, to have observed any difference between them. I believe the same is the case in B. and O. On the other hand, it has been often observed, that the W. H. palatals are rather more dental than the English; i. e., rather more like *ts*, *dz*<sup>1)</sup>. This is probably true of all W. Gd. palatals; excepting, perhaps, Sindhi<sup>2)</sup>. In M. they are distinctly semidental, and are pronounced as *ts*, *ts + h*, *dz*, *dz + h*<sup>3)</sup>. It appears, therefore, that the E. Gd. palatals are more distinctly and truly palatal than the W. and S. Gd. This seems to have been noticed already by the Pr. Grammarians. It is noticeable that both the true palatals and the semidentals occur in Psh. and Kf.<sup>4)</sup>. In M.,

1) Thus, e. g., Kl. 11.

2) See Tr. 14. His meaning is not quite clear; he seems to identify them at the same time with the „common Indian“ (that is, apparently, the W. Gd.) and with the English palatals.

3) The true palatals occur also; but apparently only in tatsamas and before palatal vowels; cf. Bs. I, 72.

4) See Tr. J. G. O. S. XX, 393. XXI, 20. 23.

ह् is almost universally pronounced and written च् or (generally before palatal vowels) ञ्; e. g., M. रीच् *bear*, E. H. रोह्; M. चूरी *knife*, E. H. छूरी; M. माफो *fly*, E. H. माहो (see Bs. I, 218).<sup>\*</sup> In Mw., both च् and ह् are pronounced (but not usually written) च्; e. g., Mw. चक्की *wheel* for E. H. चक्की; Mw. सास् *buttermilk* for E. H. झाह् (see Kl. 14, 25). Also G., S., P. and B. pronounce (and write) occasionally ह् as ञ्; e. g., G. जो *who* for S. झा (see § 438, 6); B. काणे or काहे *near* (Bs. I, 218); S. लो for Mth. हो *we are*, P. लन् for N. हन् *they are*.

*Note:* Both the true reading and the true meaning of the Pr. Gramm. rule, however, are doubtful. Vr. 11, 5 (MS., see Cw. 89) has चवर्गस्य स्पष्टता तयोच्चारणः, which is explained by Bhāmaha चवर्गो यथा स्पष्टस् तयोच्चारणो भवति i. e. „the palatals are so pronounced as to be *distinct*“. My MS. of Md. (12<sup>th</sup> pāda, fol. 48<sup>b</sup>) reads चययोरुपपन्नः स्यात् । यकारागमः । चिर् । स्वाद्य ॥ If the examples can be trusted, the true reading would seem to be चययोरु उपरि यः स्यात् i. e. „*ya* is to be written above (i. e., as first part of a conjunct) the palatals and labials; this *ya* is an (inorganic) addition; e. g., *ychiram* long, *ymāda* (?)”<sup>1</sup>). My MS. is a Nāgarī copy of one in Oṛiyā characters, in which य् and प् and ख् again च् and र् would closely resemble each other. K. I. 3 (in Ls. 393) reads यपचवर्गयुक्ता मन्नागुच्चार्यः, which would yield a sense similar to that of Md.<sup>a</sup> rule: „the labials and palatals in conjunction with *ya* are slightly pronounced”; or, perhaps, rather: „*ya* in conj. with l. and p. is slightly pron.” This is confirmed by the example given in the rule on the Voca-tive (Md. 12, 22, fol. 49<sup>a</sup>); see § 48, note.

12. The cerebrals are pronounced by striking the tip of the tongue against the centre of the hard palate, the dentals by striking it against the edge of the upper teeth. It has been a matter of much controversy, whether or not the former are originally Aryan sounds. They constitute a prominent feature of the Drāvidian languages, whilst among the Aryans they are peculiar

1) *ymāda* mother (*mātā*) or illusion *māyā*?

to India. Hence it has been commonly assumed that they are an importation from the former. This, however, is by no means certain. I am inclined to agree with the opinion of Beames (I, 232—234), that cerebrals of some kind belong to the original stock of the Aryan phonetic system. It is a well known fact that the (so-called) dentals of all the Aryan languages of Europe, especially of England, when referred to the standard of the Indo-aryan (true) dentals are not real dentals at all, but cerebrals of more or less purity. They are formed by striking the tip of the tongue against the anterior part of the hard palate or the gum of the upper teeth; and therefore are semi-cerebrals. To natives of India, whose ears are quick in detecting differences of pronunciation, they sound like real cerebrals and in transliterating English words, they always represent our dentals by cerebrals, as डैरेक्टर *director*, सारटिफिकेट *certificate* (cf. § 21). The pure dentals, therefore, are as peculiar to the Indoaryan languages as the pure cerebrals and might with equal reason be adjudged non-aryan. It is far more probable that the original Aryan sound was a semicerebral (if not a pure cerebral) which has in India only, for reasons peculiar to that country, varied in two directions so as to become the true cerebral and the true dental respectively. It is deserving of notice as making for this view, that the old Indoaryan (Sanskrit) cerebral ढ and ण have also been dentalised in various parts of India. The truth seems to be, that the whole class of original Aryan cerebrals has been undergoing in India a process of gradual decerebralisation. The first to be affected were the consonants proper and त् which had already in Skr. times become to a great extent dentals<sup>1</sup>). The next was the semivowel ञ which was dentalised in the times of Mg. Pr. Finally the nasal ण became dental in the comparatively modern times of Gd. As the dentals

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1) The old (Vedic) Skr. still preserves the old Aryan cerebral ऋ. Cp. vedic मृदु *gracious* with Skr. मृदु *gentle*; also R. मृदु or मृदु with मृदु; नद् with नृद्; नइ with नर्द्, etc.

are softer and smoother sounds than the cerebrals, it may be supposed that the enervating climate of the great North Indian plain was, at least, one of the causes determining that process. On the other hand, it is quite natural also, that in those forms of the Indoaryan languages which were current among the common people, i. e., the Prākṛits and Gaudians, the original Aryan cerebrals should to a great extent have not only stood their ground, but even been more intensely cerebralized. For most of those people belonged to or, at all events, were most in contact with the aboriginal Drávidian population whose language, like their own, possessed the cerebrals. It is noticeable, that just as in Skr. times the old Aryan semicerebral consonants were often made fully cerebral, so in Pr. times in many cases the old (semidental) ण<sup>1</sup> is cerebralized to ण, and in Gd. times by the side of the old semicerebral ण a fully cerebral ण has been formed. — It may be added as some evidence against the Drávidian theory of the cerebrals, that though the Gd. languages have now been for centuries under the influence of Arabic and Persian, yet none of the sounds peculiar to the latter have been imported into them (see § 21).

13. The nasal ण *n*, I believe, never occurs in E. H., except in conjunction with a following consonant of its own class, as अङ्गिया *aṅgiyā bodice*. The others may occur by themselves. The अ ण and ण ण, both initial and medial, are occasionally heard in the more vulgar (*theft*) forms of E. H.; thus आही *nāhī no*, अगिआ *agiñā fire*, पारसिङ्ग *ṇarsingh manlion*, पारैय *ṇārāy Nārāyan*, पाणी *pañī water*. But in the higher forms of E. H. they are always changed to न *n*, as नाही *nahī*, नरसिङ्ग *narsingh*, etc.; even in tatsama words with an original ण *n*, as कार्ण *kāraṇ cause* for Skr. कार्ण *karāṇa*. Hence the Kaithī alphabet has no special signs for अ ण and ण ण; and following its practise, I also shall limit myself in this work to the use of न *n*. When any of the five

1) The Europeo-aryan *r* and *n* are semicerebral or semidental.

nasals are used as the first part of a conjunct, they are always indicated by a dot placed over the preceding consonant; as पंक् *pank mire*, अंत *ant end*. This dot is commonly called *anusvāra*, but it must not be confounded with the real Skr. *anusvāra* which does not exist in E. H. (see § 23).

14. *Affinities.* The two nasals इ and अ (as non-conjuncts) had already been lost in the Mh.-Sr. Pr. (T. V. 1, 1. 1. H. C. 1, 1). The latter (अ), however, is expressly mentioned by Pr. Grammarians (Vr. 10, 9. 10. T. V. 3, 2. 37. 3, 4. 61. H. C. 4, 293, 294. 392), as occurring in Mg. Pr. (and also in Ap. and Ps. Pr.), where the Skr. conjuncts न्य *ny* and एय *ny* change to उञ् *ññ*. Agreeably with this, अ occurs in E. Gd. (especially in the respective *theth bhāshās*) before or after the palatal vowel (इ) or semivowel (य); thus E. H. अगिजा *fire* for अगिनिया, Mg. Pr. अगिणिए (see Ls. 244 अगिणी), Skr. अग्निकः; आही *not* for आही = ने + आही (ने for न or ना, as in B., see S. Ch. 331); B. अगिजा *order* (see S. Ch. 10) for (O. H.) अगिना (Skr. अज्ञा). So also in N. वाजि *at, by* S. Lk. 10, 29. 40 (H. थे) for Ap. Pr. वाणि or वापो, Skr. स्थाने; लिजा *taken* (S. Lk. 19, 8) for W. H. लीना (= लिना)<sup>1</sup>). S. which generally follows E. Gd. phonological practices (cf. §§ 16. 18) keeps even more closely to the Mg. precedents; thus S. पुञ् *virtue*, Mg. Pr. पुञ्जं, Skr. पुण्यं; S. वञ् *woman's milk*, Mg. Pr. वञ्जं, Skr. स्तन्यं; S. वञ् *goes*, Mg. Pr. वञ्जइ (H. 4, 294), Skr. वन्यते (§ 18); S. मञ् *heeds*, Mg. Pr. मञ्जइ, Skr. मन्यते, etc. In these instances the E. H. follows the old Ardhamāgadhī which has न्न *nn*<sup>2</sup>) (see Wb. Bh. 402. 403); thus E. H. पुञ् *virtue*, A. Mg. Pr. पुञ्जं; E. H. अञ् *is made*, A. Mg. Pr. वञ्जइ; E. H. मञ् *heeds*, A. Mg. Pr. मञ्जइ. It is noticeable, that S. has also preserved the guttural nasal इ (Tr. XVI. XVIII), as अङ्

1) Apparently it inserts even an inorganic अ after इ; as उराजा *feared* for उराइजा (उराया); पिजा *was* for पिजा; रुपिजा *money* for रुपिजा; see S. Lk. 19, 21. 23. 24. Such forms as रुपिजा *money*, अगिजा *order*, however, I have heard also in *theth Panjābī*.

2) The Mh.-Sr. Pr. has अ न्य for एय *ny* (cf. H. C. 1, 66. 2, 159); but न्न *nn* for न्य *ny* (cf. H. C. 2, 25. 44. 1, 243. 3, 58—61, etc.).

*anu* body, मउणु *mananu* ask (E. H. मँगन्त्र); and apparently O. *too* (see Sn. 18), as केउ *keiu* who, येउ *jeiu* which. This would seem to indicate, that perhaps *ṛ* also was not quite extinct in Mg. Pr., though I believe that it is not mentioned as present by any Pr. Gramm. I do not know of any instance of its occurrence in E. H. and B. As regards *ṣ* and *ṣ̣*, every *ṣ* changes to *ṣ̣* in Ps. Pr. (Vr. 10, 5. H. C. 4, 306); vice versa, every medial *ṣ̣* and optionally every initial *ṣ̣* become *ṣ* in all other Pra. (H. C. 1, 228. 229. T. V. 1, 3. 52. 53). Agreeably to this, *ṣ̣* is found as a medial in all Gd. languages, and as an initial occasionally in the Hindi. It is, however, now confined more or less to the high or low forms of the Gds. In Urdu, H. H., H. P. and H. B., especially, *ṣ̣* (even when originally existing in Skr.) has uniformly given way to *ṣ̣̣*<sup>1</sup>). Thus E. H., etc. वाणी, M. वाणी "water, Pr. वाणिञ्च (Vr. 1, 18), Skr. वानीयन्, but H. H., etc. वानी; E. H. वारैण् or नारैन् *Nārāyaṇ*, Mg. Pr. वारायणे or नारायणे, Skr. नारायणः, H. H. नारैन् or नारायन्. As regards *ṣ̣̣*, it is uniformly preserved in the earlier Pr.; in later Br. it is in a few cases elided, nasalizing the following vowel, as जडपा *Jamṣa* for Skr. यमुना (H. C. 1, 178. T. V. 1, 3. 11). In the Gds. this practice is rather common, see §§ 23. 127.

15. E. H. possesses four new consonants, which do not exist in the Skr. phonetic system; the semivowels *ṛ* *r*, *ṛ̣* *rh*, *ṛ̣̣* *lh* and *ṛ̣̣̣* *rh*. The *ṛ* *r* is a pure dental like *ṛ̣̣̣*, which explains their facile interchange (§ 30. 110); *ṛ̣̣̣* and *ṛ̣̣̣̣* are their respective aspirates, pronounced as *r + h* and *l + h*, as बरहै *barhai* grows, कोलहू *kolhū*

1) Ps. Pr. possesses only *ṣ̣̣̣̣*; the other Pra., as a rule, only *ṣ̣̣̣̣*. The high Gds., then, follow the Ps. It is a curious coincidence, that the area of the modern Ps. practice is nearly coterminous with the area of direct Mohammedan, i. e., foreign influence; see Introd. — Vr. 2, 42 does not yet admit any option in the change of the initial *ṣ̣̣̣̣*; it is allowed only by the later Gramm. H. C. and T. V., who moreover do not admit the change of *ṣ̣̣̣̣* to *ṣ̣̣̣̣* at all, if it is the resultant of a Skr. conjunct, as Pr. नाञ्च (not पाञ्च) for Skr. न्याञ्च. This circumstance — unless Vr.'s silence as to the option be merely an oversight — would seem to indicate the commencement of the modern Ps. practice.

*sugarmill*. The  $\text{ऌ}$ , pronounced  $r + h$ , as  $\text{बुढ़िया}$  *burhiyā* *old woman*, is the aspirate of  $\text{ऋ}$  which is a pure cerebral, and, therefore, is equivalent to the Skr.  $\text{ऋ} r$ . "For the latter is said by Skr. Grammarians to be a cerebral, not a dental<sup>1</sup>). In fact, it is not, as commonly supposed, the cerebral  $\text{ऋ} r$  which is the new letter, but the dental  $\text{ऋ} r$ . The old Skr.  $\text{ऋ}$  has assumed a new sound, while its old one is represented by  $\text{ऌ}$ . To avoid the inconvenience of diacritical marks, I shall adopt the Gurmukhī form  $\text{ऋ}$  for  $\text{ऋ}$  and  $\text{ऌ}$  for  $\text{ऌ}$ , and the Gurmukhī cerebral  $\text{ऋ}$  for the Skr. cerebral  $\text{ऋ}$ . The aspirates  $\text{ऋ} rh$  and  $\text{ऌ} lh$  are single sounds in the same sense as  $\text{ऋ} rh$ ; all three are in certain cases interchangeable with  $\text{ऌ} dh$ , precisely as  $\text{ऋ}$ ,  $\text{ऌ}$  and  $\text{ऋ}$  with  $\text{ऌ} d$ .

16. *Affinities*. Vedic Skr. has a cerebral  $\text{ऋ}$  and  $\text{ऌ}$ , which in certain schools take the place of an original medial  $\text{ऋ}$  and  $\text{ऌ} dh$  (see M. M. 4). These complete the series of the semi-vowels. In genealogical order they follow thus: from  $\text{ऋ}$  and  $\text{ऌ}$  arise (cerebral)  $\text{ऋ}$  and  $\text{ऌ}$ , then Skr. or W. Gd. (cerebral)  $\text{ऋ}$  or  $\text{ऌ}$  and  $\text{ऌ}$ , then (dental)  $\text{ऌ}$  and  $\text{ऌ}$ , finally E. Gd. (dental)  $\text{ऋ}$  and  $\text{ऌ}$ . Most words which in W. H. contain a non-initial  $\text{ऌ}$ , have in E. H. an  $\text{ऋ}$ , as O. H.  $\text{फल}$  *fruit* for W. H.  $\text{फल}$ ; E. H.  $\text{उरहे}$  *it grows up* for W. H.  $\text{उलहे}$ . Indeed the affinity between these two sounds is so close and the transition so easy that E. Hindūs seem to be hardly conscious of saying  $\text{ऋ}$  instead of  $\text{ऌ}$ . This proves, *firstly*, that the E. H.  $\text{ऋ}$  is a pure dental sound, and *secondly* that it is more modern than  $\text{ऌ}$ , of which it is, in fact, a comparatively recent modification<sup>2</sup>). Hence it follows that wherever E. H. has its

1) The Skr.  $\text{ऋ}$  is, perhaps, not a full cerebral, but a semicerebral, like the English so-called dentals; only in so far, can the modern full cerebral  $\text{ऋ}$  be called a new sound.

2) It existed, however, already in the 'A. Mg. of the Bhagavati (see Wb. Bh. 393). It may be noted, that while the Mg., treated of by H. C., has  $\text{ऌ}$  for  $\text{ऋ}$  (H. C. 4, 288),  $\text{ऌ}$  for  $\text{ऌ}$  (H. C. 4, 260. 302), and  $\text{ध}$  or  $\text{ह}$  for  $\text{ऋ}$  (H. C. 4, 267. 302), the Mg. of the Bhag. has, precisely like E. Gd.,  $\text{ऋ}$  for  $\text{ऌ}$ , elides  $\text{ऌ}$ , and uses only  $\text{ह}$  (cf. Wb. Bh. 410. 428. 429), e. g., in H. C.  $\text{कलेदि}$ , in Bhg.  $\text{करेइ}$ , in E. H.  $\text{करै}$  *he does*; in H. C.  $\text{यापाध}$  or  $\text{तापाह}$ , in Bhg.



dental ॠ, there must have been formerly a ॡ. This exactly agrees with what, the Pr. Gramms. tell us, was the case in their time. They say (see H. C. 4, 288. T. V. ३, 2. 36 and the examples in Vr. 11, 8. 10. 12. 13), that Mg. Pr. changes every Skr. ॠ into ॡ, that is, it turns the cerebral ॠ into the dental ॡ. The E. H. has gone a step further and has converted every dental ॡ into dental ॠ; e. g., Skr. जग्निः *night*, Mg. Pr. जग्नी, E. H. रात्; Skr. नजः *man*, Mg. Pr. नले, E. H. नॠ. There are, however, a few exceptions, as E. H. लेतुरी for Mg. Pr. \*लंतुलिखा (with pleonastic लिखा = डिका) = Skr. रंजू, E. H. लरै *he quarrels*, Mg. लउड्, Skr. रटति (see § 110). These bear out the statement of the Pr. Grammarians. But further, that dentalizing process of E. H. is still at work in the present day, turning most W. H. ॠ (= Skr. cerebral ॠ) into dental ॠ, as E. H. तोरै *he breaks* for W. H. तोडे; and occasionally the intermediate (Mg. Pr.) ॡ is still preserved, as in the W. H. pleonastic suffix ड which is in E. H. ला and रा; e. g., W. H. डगो *goat*, E. H. डेली or डरी (Skr. डगो, Ap. Pr. डायडिन्ना), or W. H. नाडो *watercourse*, E. H. नाली or नारी<sup>1)</sup>. Again the very same process, by which the E. H. has already changed all *dialectic* Mg. Pr. ॡ into (dental) ॠ, it applies in the present day to all non-initial *original* (Skr.) ॡ also; as Skr. फलं *fruit*, Mg. Pr. फलं, E. H. फॠ; Skr. कदलकः, Mg. Pr. कयलए or केलए, E. H. केरा. Initial *original* ॡ, it is true, are exempted, as Skr. लंबः *long*, Mg. लंबे

जाणह, in E. H. जानह् *you know*. It appears, then, that the change of ॠ to ॡ belongs to the most ancient period of Mg., and that the present phonetic state (of ॠ for ॡ) existed already in the Mg. period of the Bhag. In the phonological part of the present work, however, I shall generally give the *ancient* Mg. equivalents (with ॡ) of E. H. words; for this reason, more than any other, to keep before the student's mind the fact of the change of the Skr. ॠ to E. H. ॠ, through Mg. ॡ.

1) Apparently in these exceptional cases the ॡ was already present in Skr.; cf. the Skr. pleon. suff. ल and र; and Skr. नड or नल, Ved. नड *tubular reed, bone, artery*, etc., whence perhaps नज *man*; and Skr. नाडी or नाली *watercourse*, whence, perhaps, नारी *water*.

or लम्बे (see § 18), E. H. लम्ब (W. H. लंबा), yet the tendency to the change is shown in the occasional substitution of प् or न् in the place of ल्, as in the pleonastic suffixes पा or ना for ला (e. g., अपपा or अपना *own*, cf. M. अपला); a substitution which is still more common in B. and O. (see Bs. I, 75); for the cerebral प् contains the sound of *r*, being somewhat like *rn*. Again the trustworthiness of the Pr. Gramms. is shown by their noting the remarkable agreement of S. with E. H., on which point see below. Thus Mđ. and R. T. say, that S. which is called the *pāschā* dialect, is distinguished by the interchange of *l* and *r*<sup>1)</sup>. It is also noticeable that in the Kaithī alphabet, proper to E. H., the sign for the dental *r* (र) is different from that originally used for the Skr. cerebral *r* (ठ) and still preserved in the Gurmukhī for the P. cerebral *r*; it is, in fact, a slight modification of the original sign for ल (ल) made by omitting the semicircular stroke (ः), and improved into the modern Devanāgarī (र). According to the Pr. Gramm. the change of र to ल् does not obtain in the Mh.-Sr. Pr.; i. e., the latter does not change the cerebral into a dental. This agrees with the fact that to the present day in W. Gđ. (i. e., W. H., P., G., excl. Br. and S.) र is more or less distinctly cerebral; and accordingly they do not interchange their ल् and र्, nor have they a cerebral र् र<sup>2)</sup>, but on the other hand they possess a cerebral ल् ल. The same is true of the S. Gđ., which like its original, the Dk. Pr. (Ls. 415), follows the W. Gds. (i. e., Mh.-Sr. Pr.). In fact their system of semivowels is very much the same still as in (Vedic) Skr. P. shows a tendency to change its cerebral ल् to र्, and rarely its ल् to र्; hence, probably, its र् is not fully cerebral. S., on the other hand, agrees with E. H. in

1) Mđ. पाश्चाया रेफव्यत्येन (18<sup>th</sup> pāda, fol. 56); and R. T. पाश्चात्यता स्वर्द्ध रलपर्ययेण (Ls. Ap. 5).

2) Their र् is always *ṛ*, not *r*; and their *r* is equivalent to र् र; whence, e. g., W. H. बर्हेला *wild hog*, probably written for बर्हेला = वर्हेला from Skr. वराह + pleon. ला; W. H. मंत्तार or मंत्तार for Skr. मर्तारः.

every respect; it has the dental  $\mathfrak{r}$  and cerebral  $\mathfrak{r}$ , the interchange of  $\mathfrak{r}$  and  $\mathfrak{r}$ , and no  $\mathfrak{r}$ ; so also Br., except that it does not usually interchange  $\mathfrak{r}$  and  $\mathfrak{r}$ . N. and B., again, agree with E. H. in the dental  $\mathfrak{r}$  and cerebral  $\mathfrak{r}$ , and the want of  $\mathfrak{r}$ ; and though they do not interchange  $\mathfrak{r}$  and  $\mathfrak{r}$ , they have the analogous change of  $\mathfrak{r}$  to  $\mathfrak{p}$  or  $\mathfrak{n}$ . The same is the case with O., except that it possesses the  $\mathfrak{r}$ ; this is strange; I suspect that its  $\mathfrak{r}$  is not a pure cerebral; for sometimes it has both  $\mathfrak{r}$  and  $\mathfrak{r}$ , e. g., गोल and गोळ *ball*; sometimes it has  $\mathfrak{r}$ , where the W. Gdls. have  $\mathfrak{r}$ ; e. g., G. टळूँ, M. टळणे, but O. टलिआ *to confound*. To sum up: W. Gd. (excl. S.) and S. Gd., like the Mh.-Sr. Pr., keep the cerebral  $\mathfrak{r}$ ; but E. Gd. and N. Gd. dentalize it, like the Mg. Pr.; S., like the old Páschá, follows the E. Gd. practice.

17. In E. H. the semivowels  $\mathfrak{y}$  and  $\mathfrak{v}$  are never *organic*, but always *euphonic*, i. e., either simply inserted, or produced by sandhi in order to prevent a hiatus. Thus जीवै *he lives* for जी + ऐ (Pr. जीवइ); खायल् *eaten* for खाइल् (Pr. खाइदे); जाय के *having gone* for जाइ के; जायै *they may go* for जा + ऐ; again लेवै *to take* for लेऐ; रोवल् *he wept* for रो + वल्; घोड़वा *horse* for घोड़वा; जायै *I may go* for जायै, etc. It follows that they can never occur at the beginning of a word. It should be remembered, however, that in Kaithí,  $\mathfrak{v}$  is always written for  $\mathfrak{b}$ , and  $\mathfrak{y}$  not uncommonly for  $\mathfrak{n}$ . Whenever such apparently organic  $\mathfrak{y}$  or  $\mathfrak{v}$  occur initially, they must be pronounced  $\mathfrak{n}$  or  $\mathfrak{b}$  respectively; as योग् or जोग् *jog worthy*; संयुत् or संनुत् *sanjūt joined*; बात् or बात् *bāt word*; बाटै or बाटै *bātai he is*; संवत् or संवत् *sambat year*. This applies even to tatsamas as यात्रा *jātrā pilgrimage*, आचार्य *āchāry preceptor*. The sound of  $\mathfrak{b}$  is very peculiar; it is neither distinctly  $b$  nor  $v$ ; of the two it is nearer to  $b$ ; but in many cases it is difficult to say which it is. This is especially the case in the *phēh bhāshā*; in the *khari bhāshā*, it is, as a rule, distinctly  $b$ . The same remarks apply to B. and O. — Nor does an *organic*  $\mathfrak{y}$  or  $\mathfrak{v}$  ever occur in the middle of a word; it is always vocalized and commonly combined with the adjacent vowels, as नारैन्

or नारायण *Nārāyaṇ* (Pr. नारायणे); देवोदा *pine* (Pr. देवदारु). This applies also to tatsamas, as देवता *deota* (देवोता) *idol*. In tatsamas it is the usual, though not the universal practice to write *y* and *z*; but the Dr. Grammarians' practice of phonetic spelling would be greatly preferable; and for clearness' sake I shall observe it in this work.

18. *Affinities*. This subject is involved in some obscurity. According to the Pr. Gramm. an initial *y* always changes to *z* in the Mh.-Sr. Pr. (Vr. 2, 31. H. C. 1, 245. T. V. 1, 3. 74), but in the Mg. Pr. it not only remains unchanged, but even *z* (whether initial or medial) changes to *y* (H. C. 4, 292. T. V. 3, 2. 39. cf. Vr. 11, 4. K. I. 5 in Ls. 393); e. g., Skr. योत्तन्, Sr. ज्ञोत्तणं, Mg. योत्तणं. But not only is the modern E. and S. Gd. practice precisely the reverse of that of Mg., and the same as that of Mh.-Sr.; but even in the contemporary (Mg.) Pr. literature the Sr. Pr. almost uniformly prevails; e. g., in the Bhagavatī (see Wb. Bh. 394; also Ls. 406. 411. 425). It seems impossible to admit that the Pr. Grammarians should have deliberately feigned on a language, and that in some cases probably their own vernacular, a rule the opposite of which they knew to be the truth. And it seems to be an equally impossible supposition — it is, indeed, as just stated, contradicted by the Pr. literature — that a revolution so complete in the pronunciation of Mg. should have taken place within the last few centuries, as the accustomed interpretation of their rule would involve. Yet if the *y*, which they mention, is understood in the sense of the ordinary semi-vowel *y*, there seems no escape from one or other of these two improbable alternatives. The solution of the difficulty appears to me to be the admission of the fact, that in the old Mg. Pr. times there must have existed an obscure sound, intermediate between *y* and *j*, and doing duty for both these two; precisely analogous to the obscure sound which took the place in Pr. of the two sounds *v* and *b* and which still exists in E. H. (§ 17). These two obscure or neutral sounds I shall call the *semiconsonants* *y*

and  $\text{य}$ . The palatal semiconsonant  $y$  still appears to exist here and there in isolated cases. It has been noticed by Beames to occur in the Panjāb<sup>1)</sup>. But from the Pr. Gramm.<sup>2)</sup> statement, it is probable that it once universally prevailed in the Mg. Pr. The two cases, of  $\text{य}$  and  $\text{न}$  on the one side and of  $\text{व}$  and  $\text{ख}$  on the other, are closely analogous and serve to elucidate one another. The existence of such *semiconsonants*  $\text{य}$  and  $\text{व}$  is, apparently, nowhere expressly noted in the Pr. Gramm.; but it follows almost of necessity from the fact, that side by side with them Pr. possesses an *euphonic*  $\text{य}$  and  $\text{व}$ <sup>3)</sup>. The latter are very common in modern Gd., and are pronounced precisely like our ordinary semivowels  $y$  and  $v$ ; whence it follows, that the organic  $\text{य}$  and  $\text{व}$  must have had in Pr. more of a real consonantal character, and are, in fact, semiconsonants, i. e., neutral sounds between the full semivowels and the full consonants<sup>3)</sup>. It is this semiconsonant  $\text{व}$ ,

1) „The Hindi holds fast the correct pronunciation (of  $\text{न}$ ), but Panjabi rather finds it a stumbling-block. When a Panjabi says मक *majh* “a buffalocow” the sound he produces is something very odd. It might be represented by *meyh*, a very palatal  $y$  aspirated; perhaps in German by *müch*, or rather, if it may be so expressed, with a medial sound corresponding to the tenuis *ch*” (Bs. I, 71). It is probably the sound, given to  $g$  (as in *lebendig*) in the Rhenish Provinces.

2) Thus K. I. 1, 45. कुचिपत्वं वा ॥ गयपां गयपां वा ॥ 46. कुचिदू वत्वं वा । सुहृषो सुहृवो वा ॥ i. e. sometimes (when a consonant is elided) an euphonic  $y$  or  $v$  is inserted, as *gayam* for *gaam* (Skr. *gagam*), *suhavo* for *suhao* (Skr. *subhagah*). Again H. C. 1, 180. अक्वो ययुतिः; and T. V. 1, 3. 10 ययुतिः । नयं ॥ in the place of an elided consonant between the vowels  $\text{ā}$  or  $\text{ā}$  an euphonic  $y$  is pronounced; as *nayaram* (Skr. *nagaram*), etc. Md. 2, 2. has अनादाव् सदितो वपो पठितव्यौ । यकारवदिति पाठशिक्षा ॥ (MS. fol. 8\*). — See also Wb. Bh. 399.

3) The Pr. Gramm. themselves note a distinction in the sound of the two sets; thus T. V. 1, 3. 10 calls the euphonic  $y$  लघुपयत्नतर्यकार „pronounced with smaller effort”; in the same rule among the examples of the euphonic  $\text{य}$  the Pr. पायपां *eye* for Skr. नयनं is given; this would have no sense, unless the organic (Skr.)  $\text{य}$  was pronounced in Pr. differently from the euphonic  $\text{य}$ . Again  $\text{य}$  and  $\text{व}$  are in Pr. sometimes *vocalised* and, by combination with the adjacent vowels, form  $\text{ए}$  and  $\text{ओ}$ ; this

which according to the Pr. Gramm. is sometimes *substituted* for a single medial Skr.  $\text{व्}$  or  $\text{ब्}$ , but as a rule *elided*, both in Mh.-Sr. and in Mg. Pr.<sup>1)</sup>. They give no rule as to the substitution of the semicons.  $\text{व्}$  for an initial- or a conjunct Skr.  $\text{ब्}$ ; whence it may be concluded, that in the Mh.-Sr. Pr. the latter remained unchanged. This conclusion, indeed, is indirectly supported by the fact that the Skr. conj.  $\text{म्ब्}$  *mb* does not change in the Mh.-Sr. Pr. into  $\text{म्म}$  *mm*, as it would do according to Vr. 3, 8, if it were pronounced in Pr.  $\text{म्}$  *mv* with the semicons.  $\text{व्}$ <sup>2)</sup>. Thus Skr.  $\text{जम्बु}^\circ$ , Pr.  $\text{जम्बु}^\circ$  or  $\text{जंबु}^\circ$  (Spt. 192); Skr.  $\text{निम्ब}^\circ$ , Pr.  $\text{णिम्ब}^\circ$  or  $\text{णिंब}^\circ$  (Spt. 252); Skr.  $\text{अम्बु}^\circ$ , Pr.  $\text{अम्बु}$  or  $\text{अंबु}$  (Spt. A. 32); Skr.  $\text{बिम्बं}$ , Pr.  $\text{बिम्बं}$  or  $\text{बिंबं}$  (Spt. 208); also Pr.  $\text{अम्बं}$  or  $\text{अंबं}$  (Vr. 3, 53, for Skr.  $\text{अम्}$ );

occurs, as a rule, in declension and conjugation, and it will be observed, that the  $\text{य्}$  and  $\text{व्}$  thus treated are always the euphonic semivowels; thus Skr.  $\text{जयति}$  of  $\text{जि} + \text{अति}$  is Pr.  $\text{जेदि}$ , Skr.  $\text{भवति}$  of  $\text{भू} + \text{अति}$  is Pr.  $\text{होदि}$ , Skr.  $\text{तन्वी}$  of  $\text{तनु} + \text{ई}$  is Pr.  $\text{तण्णु}$ , etc.; on the other hand, the organic semiconsonants  $\text{य्}$  and  $\text{व्}$  are not vocalized, but as a rule *elided*; thus Skr.  $\text{नयनं}$  is Pr.  $\text{णअणं}$  (T. V. 1, 3. 8); Skr.  $\text{लावण्यं}$  is Pr.  $\text{लाअणं}$  (T. V. 1, 3. 8). In short, the euph. semivowels  $\text{य्}$  and  $\text{व्}$  are treated like vowels; but the semiconsonants  $\text{य्}$  and  $\text{व्}$  like consonants. Again note the change of Skr.  $\text{झाया}$  to Pr.  $\text{झाहा}$  (Vr. 2, 18).

1) Vr. 2, 15  $\text{पो षः}$  *v takes the place of p*; H. C. 1, 237. T. V. 1, 3. 61  $\text{बो षः}$  *v takes the place of b*; Vr. 2, 2  $\text{पयवां प्रायो लोपः}$ ; Md. 2, 2  $\text{प्रायः पयवर्वा लोपः}$  (MS. fol. 8\*) „as a rule *v* etc. are *elided*". These rules are given on Mh., but they apply to Sr. and Mg. too (by H. C. 3, 302. 286). It is noticeable, that they do not apply to the Ap. Pr., which possesses the full consonant  $\text{ध्}$ ; thus H. C. 4, 396  $\text{अनादौ स्त्रादसंयुक्तानां कवतथपकां गद्यध्वभा}$  „medial single *p*, *ph* etc. become *b*, *bh* etc.".

2) While conjuncts consisting of a semivowel with an antecedent nasal are assimilated in Pr. (Vr. 3, 2. 3), those consisting of a consonant with an antecedent nasal are not. Hence the second part of the conjunct in the examples must be pronounced  $\text{ब्}$  *b*, not  $\text{व्}$  *v*; otherwise the forms ought to be  $\text{जम्}$ , etc.; as, indeed, they were probably in Mg. The rule Vr. 3, 3 does not apply to the consonant  $\text{ब}$  *b*, but only to neutral  $\text{व्}$ ; the example  $\text{लोढयो}$  for Skr.  $\text{लब्धकः}$  does not prove that it does, as  $\text{व्}$  would be assimilated, in any case, by the analogy of the rule Vr. 3, 1.

Skr. चुम्बति *he kisses*, Pr. चुम्बद् or चुंबद् (H. C. 4, 239). On the other hand, it is very probable, that both the initial and the conjunct Skr. ब् were pronounced in the Mg. Pr. as the semiconsonant व्. For the following reasons: *firstly*, while the W. and S<sup>c</sup> Gd., the descendants of the Mh.-Sr. Pr., show, like the latter, the cons. ब् in the place of the Skr. conjunct ब्, the E. Gd., the descendant of the Mg. Pr. (and S. which generally follows E. Gd. practices, cf. § 16), shows म् which postulates in Mg. a conjunct, म्<sup>1</sup>) and hence the pronunciation म् for Skr. म्; thus Skr. तम्बुः, Mh.-Sr. तम्बू, M. तौब, G. तौबु, but E. H., B., O. ताम्, S. तामु, Mg. \*तम्मू; Skr. निम्बः, Mh.-Sr. णिम्बो, W. H., M., G. नीब, but E. H., B., O. नीम्, Mg. \*निम्मे; Skr. निम्बूकः, Mh.-Sr. णिम्बूको, W. H., M., G. निम्बू, but E. H., B., O. नीम्, S. निम् or लिम्, Mg. \*निम्मूर; Skr. लम्बः, Mh.-Sr. लम्बो, W. H. लम्बा, but E. H. लाम्, Mg. \*लम्मे; Skr. अमम्, Mh.-Sr. अम्ब, W. H., P. अम्ब, M. अम्बा, G. अँबो, but E. H., B., O. अाम्, S. अामो (also अम्बु), Mg. \*अम्मं; Skr. तामम्, Mh.-Sr. तम्ब, W. H., P. तौबा, M. तौबे, G. तौबु, but E. H., B., O. ताम् or तामा, S. टामो, Mg. \*तम्मं (cf. Ls. 246); in Skr. कम्बलः *blanket*, Mg. \*कम्मले, E. H. कम्मल् (cf. § 143 exc.) the original Mg. \*म् is preserved; Skr. सम्बुध्यते, Mg. \*सम्मुत्तद्, E. H. समुत्तै<sup>2</sup>). *Secondly*, while E. Gd. (and Br.) possesses the initial semiconsonant व्, the other Gd. languages have either the semivowel व् or the consonant ब् (see Bs. I, 252. Kl. 11. 13) at the beginning of words. *Thirdly*, while the Gur-mukhí (i. e. Panjábí) and Gujarátí alphabets possess two separate signs for *v* and *b*, the Kaithí (incl. Devanágari), Bangálí and Oriya have only one, namely व्, to denote both sounds *v* and *b*, and hence, for distinction's sake, they place a dot *under* (E. H. व्) or *over* (O. व̇) it when it has the sound of *v*; as E. H. रावन् *Rāvan*,

1) The Mg. semicons. व् seems to have a tendency to change to म्, e. g., Mg. माहण for बाहण (Skr. ब्राह्मण); Mg. वेसमण for वेसवण (Skr. वैश्रवण); see Wh. Rh. 414. 415; also see § 134.

2) In the last instance सम्मु<sup>0</sup> the assimilation म् appears to be common to all Gds.: cf. Bs. II, 108. H. समकौती, G. सम्भुती, M. समतूत्.

कवन् *kavan* who; but वचन् *bachan* word, वन् *ban* wood<sup>1)</sup>. On the whole the case appears to stand thus: In Mh.-Sr. Pr. the Skr. semivowel व् and consonant ब् remain unchanged at the beginning of words, but become the semiconsonant व् in the middle. On the other hand, in Mg. they are pronounced as the semicons. व् in every case whether initial or medial. In E. Gd. the Mg. initial semicons. व् has a tendency to be hardened into the consonant ब्, and the Mg. medial semicons. व् has a tendency to be softened into the semivowel व् and vocalized and combined with the adjacent vowels; thus Skr. बुध्यते, Mg. बुक्कइ, E. H. बूकै *he knows*; Skr. अपथम्, A. Mg. सवहं, E. H. सोह. The case of य् and ज्ञ् is precisely analogous. It is the semiconsonant य्, to which the Pr. Gramm. rule refers<sup>2)</sup>. From this rule it appears, that just as the semiconsonant व् was pronounced in Mg. Pr. for both the Skr. semivowel व् and consonant ब्, so the semicons. य् was pronounced in it for both the Skr. semivow. य् and cons. ज्ञ्; and that, again, in every case, both in the beginning and middle of a word. Moreover, just like the Skr. conjunct म्ब *mb* is pronounced in Mg. म्ब *mv* and changed to म्म *mm*, so the Skr. conjunct ञ् न् *ñj* is in Mg. pronounced \*ञ् न् *ny* and becomes उञ् *ññ*<sup>3)</sup>. Once more: as the Bangálí and Oṛiyá alphabets have only one character for both *v* and *b*, so they have only one sign for both sounds *y* and *j*, and hence, for distinction's sake, they place a dot (B. य्) or hook (O. य्) under the य् when it has the sound

1) This proves, that the semicons. व् was felt to be more like *b* than *v*; for otherwise the dot would be used, when it signified *b*; as indeed it is in Devanágari, the alphabet of W. H. and M., where ब् (i. e. *ब* or dot within *ब*) signifies *b*.

2) Thus Vr. 11, 4 ङो यः *y* takes the place of *j*; H. C. 4, 292. T. V. 3, 2. 39 ङययां यः *y* takes the place of *j*, *dy* and *y*.

3) Thus H. C. 4, 293. T. V. 3, 2. 37 ञययत्तञ्जां उञः *ññ* takes the place of *ñj* etc.; as ञञ्जली for Skr. ञञ्जली, धपाञ्जल for Skr. धनञ्जयः, पञ्जले for Skr. पाञ्जलः *straight*; none of these words, I believe, have survived in the modern Gds.; nor do I happen to know any other instance in B. or O.; in S., perhaps, there is मिञ्ज *marrow* for Skr. \*माञ्ज<sup>0</sup> (see Tr. XXVII).



of *y*<sup>1</sup>). On the other hand the Gurmukhi and (in this case also) Kaithi have two separate signs for *y* and *j*, just as in the case of *v* and *b*<sup>2</sup>). Finally as in the case of the Mg. semicons. *य*, so here too the Mg. init. semicons. *य* has been hardened in the modern E. Gd. into the full consonant *य*, and the Mg. medial semicons. *य* is softened into the semivowel *य*, vocalized and combined with the adjacent vowels; thus Skr. ज्ञानाति *he knows*, Mg. यणाड, E. H. ज्ञाने; Skr. रत्नी *night*, Mg. रयणी, E. H. रूनि or रैनि. To judge, however, from the evidence of the A. Mg. Br. of the Bhagavati, where *ry* and *rj* as a rule appear as *yy*, but *j* remains unchanged (see Wb. Bh. 394. 389), and from the fact that the Kaithi has separate signs for *y* and *j*, it is possible, that the A. Mg. never possessed the *single* semicons. *य*, but only the double semicons. *य*, following in the former respect the Mh.-Sr., in the latter the Mg. In any case, in its modern representative, the E. H., the semicons. *य*, whether single or double, has become a full consonant. — This theory of the semicons. *य* is confirmed

<sup>1</sup> 1) This shows again that the semicons. *य* was in Mg. Pr. more like *j* than *y*. — It is noticeable that Bhāmaha in his Comm. on Vr. 11, 4 does not use the term *स्याने* (he says *तर्कारस्य यकारो भवति*), which he employs in all other sūtras where an actual phonetic change is enjoined; thus on Vr. 11, 3 he says *यकारसकार्योः स्याने यकारो भवति*; and so even on Vr. 11, 7 *यकार्तकार्योः स्याने यो भवति* i. e. *yy* for *rj* and *ry*. Now in the Bhagavati *rj* and *ry*, as a rule, change into *yy*, but *j* does not change (Wb. Bh. 394. 389). This curious coincidence would seem to show, that the difference in Bhāmaha's terminology, if it was intentional, was meant to indicate, that in the case of *j* the change was one in *writing* only, but in the case of *rj* and *ry* it was one both in *writing* and *pronunciation*. In other words: in Bhām's time the semicons. *य* had already hardened into the full cons. *य*, though it was still written *य* (as in modern B. and O.), but the double *य* was still both written and pronounced as semicons. The latter would naturally hold out longer. In modern E. Gd., however, it too has hardened to *य*.

2) It may be remarked, however, that in Kaithi, too, a dot is placed under *य*, when it signifies an *organic y* in tatsama words; thus तय *true*; which shows, that formerly *य* (without dot) signified *j*, the Pr. substitute of the Skr. organic *y*.

by and elucidates the treatment of the Skr. conjunct  $\text{ज्ञ}$  *jñ* in Pr. and Gd. According to the Pr. Gramm.  $\text{ज्ञ}$  changes to  $\text{ञ्}$  *ñ* in Mh.-Sr.<sup>1)</sup> (H. C. 2, 42. T. V. 2, 4. 37. Vr. 3, 44), to  $\text{उञ्}$  *ññ* in Mg. (H. C. 4, 293, T. V. 3, 2. 37) and to  $\text{न्}$  *nn* in the A. Mg. (Wb. Bh. 402. 403). The Gdā. show no trace of the form  $\text{उञ्}$  *ññ*, but have always  $\text{न्}$  *n* or  $\text{ण्}$  *ṇ*; as Skr.  $\text{राज्ञी}$  *queen*, Pr.  $\text{रज्ञी}$  or  $\text{रज्ञी}$ , E. H.  $\text{रानी}$  or  $\text{रणी}$ , N.  $\text{रानी}$ , M. G. P. S.  $\text{रणी}$ ; Skr.  $\text{यज्ञोपवीतं}$  *sacrificial thread*, Pr. \* $\text{यज्ञोवित्रं}$  or  $\text{यज्ञोवित्रं}$  (cf. Vr. 4, 1), G.  $\text{यज्ञोउ}$ , E. H.  $\text{यज्ञउ}$  (for  $\text{यज्ञोउ}$  see § 26. 122), M.  $\text{यज्ञवे}$ , S.  $\text{यज्ञयो}$ , W. H.  $\text{यज्ञेउ}$ ; Skr.  $\text{आज्ञा}$  *order*, Pr.  $\text{आणा}$  (Vr. 3, 55) or  $\text{आना}$ , H.  $\text{आन्}$ ; Skr.  $\text{संज्ञा}$ , Pr.  $\text{सज्ञा}$  or  $\text{सज्ञा}$ , H.  $\text{सान्}$  *sign*; Skr.  $\text{विज्ञापिका}$ , Pr.  $\text{विज्ञत्रिज्ञा}$  or  $\text{विज्ञत्रिज्ञा}$ , H.  $\text{विनती}$  *respectful information, petition*; Skr.  $\text{संज्ञापिका}$ , Pr.  $\text{सज्ञत्रिज्ञा}$  or  $\text{सज्ञत्रिज्ञा}$ , H.  $\text{सनती}$  *instead* (lit. *killing*)<sup>2)</sup>. If  $\text{ज्ञ}$  was pronounced as a semicons. ( $\text{य्}$ ), it would easily be assimilated to the succeeding nasal. Besides from the form  $\text{न्}$  *nn* it appears, that this palatal semicons.  $\text{य्}$  had a tendency to pass into the dental class. There are, however, traces in Pr. of another modification of  $\text{ज्ञ}$ , beside that into  $\text{ञ्}$  or  $\text{न्}$ . The Skr. base  $\text{राज्ञ}$  *king* becomes in Ps. Pr.  $\text{राचिन}$  (Vr. 10, 12) and in the later Mh. Pr.  $\text{राइण}$  (H. C. 3, 50—55. K. I. 237. 238. Cw. 45. Ls. 315). The latter presupposes a Sr. form \* $\text{राज्ञिण}$  or \* $\text{राज्ञिन}$  or Mg. \* $\text{रायिञ}$ . Here, evidently the conjunct  $\text{ज्ञ}$  has been dissolved into  $\text{ज्ञिण}$  or  $\text{ज्ञिन}$ , which the Ps., as usual, changes to  $\text{चिन}$ . On the same principle the E. H. word  $\text{सइन्}$  or  $\text{सैन्}$  *hint* (also S., see Tr. XXXIV) is formed from the Pr. \* $\text{सइणा}$  or \* $\text{सज्ञिणा}$ , Skr.  $\text{संज्ञा}$ <sup>3)</sup>. Instead, however,

1) They state, however, that  $\text{ज्ञ}$  of the R.  $\text{ज्ञा}$  *know* always becomes  $\text{ज्ञ}$  (Vr. 8, 23); this is born out by Gd., which has  $\text{ज्ञान्}$ ; they also say that  $\text{ज्ञ}$  of derivatives of the R.  $\text{ज्ञा}$  *optionally* becomes  $\text{ज्ञ्}$  (H. C. 2, 83. T. V. 1, 4. 82. Vr. 3, 5), but Gd. shows no trace of this.

2) Also  $\text{देवान्}$  or  $\text{देवना}$  *mad*, Pr.  $\text{दइवञ्}$  (H. C. 2, 83) or \* $\text{दैवन्}$ , Skr.  $\text{दैवज्ञः}$  (lit. *inspired*); and  $\text{वीन्}$  or  $\text{वीना}$  *seeing*, Pr. \* $\text{विञ्}$  or \* $\text{विन्न्}$ , Skr.  $\text{विज्ञः}$  (lit. *knowing*); these two words, however, are probably introduced from the Persian, which accounts for their metaphorical meaning.

3) H. has both  $\text{सान्}$  and  $\text{सैन्}$  *hint*, but only  $\text{रानी}$  *queen*, not  $\text{रैनी}$ ; probably to avoid confusion with  $\text{रैनी}$  *night* for Skr.  $\text{रत्नी}$ .

of ण being elided, it generally appears in the modern Gd. either as ण *g* (E. and W. Gd.) or ढ *d* (S. Gd.). This can be naturally explained, if the original ण be supposed to have been at first pronounced as the semicons. ण्. The latter, as already stated, has a tendency to pass into the dental class, but it passes even more easily into the guttural; i. e., original जिन becomes गिन or दिन. Next the nasal was suppressed and the two hiatus-vowels of गिन् contracted to ग्य. This is still the common practice to the present day in regard to tatsamas in P. and H.; e. g., P. गिज्ञान्, H. ग्यान *knowledge* for Skr. ज्ञानं; P. अगिज्ञा, H. अग्या *order* for Skr. अज्ञा; but it must have existed already in the Ap. Pr., as evidenced by the modern H. जगम् or जगम् *sacrifice*, which presupposes an Ap. Pr. form जग्य in which the conjunct ग्य *gy* has become subject to the ordinary Gd. laws on the treatment of conjuncts (see § 144. 147. 150); so also the S. सर्वगु *omniscient* for \*सर्वग्य (Tr. XXXII). — In G. tatsamas °गिन° is changed to ग्य *gnya*; and M. has दन्य *dnya* for °दिन°; e. g., Skr. ज्ञान is in G. *gnyān*, in M. *dnyān*. It is usual, however, to retain in writing the Skr. conjunct ज्ञ *jñ* in the place of the modern awkward triple nexus. — It has been already noted, that traces of the insertion of the euphonic semivowels ण् and ञ् are already found in Pr. The practice is far more general in Gd.; in E. H., especially, these euph. letters are regularly employed in the formation of the *long* form of nouns (see § 203).

19. E. H. does not possess the two sibilants ण् *s* and ण् *sh* of the Skr. phonetic system. Even in tatsama words they are always pronounced as स *s*, as शिव *siu* (सिउ) *Siva*. Already in the A. Mg. Pr., the original of E. H., they had uniformly given way to the latter (see Wb. Bh. 393. 415. Ls. 411). In writing the symbols ण् and ण् are commonly used; but they are always pronounced *s* and *kh* respectively (as ण् *khis* *happy*, pers. خوش), and, in fact, are the E. H. (Kaithī) signs of those two sounds. To avoid misunderstanding, however, I shall employ in this work the usual Devanāgarī characters स *s* and ख *kh*.

20. *Affinities.* The sound of  $\text{क्}$  had been already lost in all Prs.; that of  $\text{ख}$  in the Mh.-Sr. and that of  $\text{ख}$  in the Mg. (Vr. 2, 43. 11, 3). Accordingly none of the Gds. have  $\text{क्}$ , the E. Gd. (exc. E. H.) has no  $\text{ख}$ , W. and N. Gd. no  $\text{क्}$ . S. Gd. and E. H., follow, like their prototypes (the A. Mg. and Dk. Pr.), the example of the Mh.-Sr. and have, as a rule, no  $\text{क्}$ . In other words, like their respective originals, E. Gd. (excl. E. H.) pronounces all three Skr. sibilants alike as  $\text{श}$ ; W., N., S. Gd. and E. H. as  $\text{s}$ . In H. H., however, and in the other literary forms of W. Gd. both  $\text{क्}$  and  $\text{ख}$  are sounded in tatsamas, but alike as palatal  $\text{श}$ ; thus  $\text{शिव}$  and  $\text{विष्णु}$  are *śiva* and *viṣṇu*. — In writing, the character  $\text{क्}$ , more or less modified in the different alphabets (see the table), is preserved in all Gds., and used as a symbol of  $\text{क् kh}$ . Similarly E. Gd. uses  $\text{ख}$ , and W. and N. Gd.  $\text{ख}$ , and S. Gd.  $\text{क्}$  and  $\text{ख}$  indifferently, as a symbol for their *one* sibilant. In the literary or high forms of the various Gds., the use of all three characters  $\text{क्}$ ,  $\text{ख}$ ,  $\text{क्}$  (not of their sounds), has been reintroduced; chiefly in tatsamas; in tadbhavas, owing to an imperfect knowledge of their derivation, they are sometimes wrongly employed by native writers.

21. Such foreign sounds as do not occur in the E. H. phonetic system, are assimilated in the following manner:

1) The semigutturals (arabic)  $\text{ق q}$ ,  $\text{خ kh}$ ,  $\text{غ gh}$  and  $\text{ح or ه h}$  become respectively the pure gutturals  $\text{क}$ ,  $\text{ख}$ ,  $\text{ग}$  and  $\text{ह}$ ; as  $\text{कौल}$  for  $\text{قول}$  *agreement*,  $\text{खाली خالى}$  *only or empty*;  $\text{गरीब غریب}$  *poor*;  $\text{हाल حال}$  *state*;  $\text{हर हर}$  *every*.

2) The semipalatals (arabic)  $\text{ذ z}$ ,  $\text{ز z}$ ,  $\text{ص s}$ ,  $\text{ض s}$  become pure palatal  $\text{ज}$ ; as  $\text{कागड کاغذ}$  *paper*;  $\text{زیادتی}$  *more* (see Bs. II, 54);  $\text{زمیندار}$  *landholder*;  $\text{سامن su-$  *rety*;  $\text{ظاهر ظاهر}$  *manifest*.

3) The semicerebrals (english)  $\text{t}$  and  $\text{d}$  become pure cerebral  $\text{ट}$  and  $\text{ड}$  respectively; as  $\text{कलेक्टर}$  *collector*,  $\text{साहू}$  *lord*.

4) The semidentals  $\text{ط t}$  and (sibilants)  $\text{ث s}$ ,  $\text{ص s}$  and  $\text{ش sh}$  become pure dental  $\text{त}$  and  $\text{स}$  respectively; as  $\text{तैयार طیار}$  *ready*;  $\text{ثابت ثابت}$  *proved*;  $\text{صاحب صاحب}$  *master, sir*;  $\text{خوش خوش}$  *happy*.

5) The semilabial ف *f* becomes pure labial फ़, pronounced *ph*, not *f* as in W. H.; e. g., फ़ैदा *phaidá* for فایدہ *faidá* profit.

6) The spirants ع *a* and (sometimes) و *v* are dropped,\* and if they were medial, the hiatus-vowels are contracted; as मालूम for معلوم *known*, माफ़िक् for موافق *like*.

### 3. THE VISARGA AND ANUSVÁRA.

22. The E. H. does not possess the *Visarga* (:) or unmodified sibilant (see M. M. 4) of the Skr. phonetic system.\* Already in Skr. the visarga had ceased to be pronounced in certain cases and was assimilated either to the preceding vowel or to the following consonant. In Pr. this became the universal practice (cf. Ls. 142. 229. 230). It follows that none of the Gds. can possess the visarga; on the contrary, they further subject the assimilated vowel or consonant of the Pr. to the disintegrating action of their own laws. Thus compare the following examples: Skr. अयोऽपि *also another*, A. Mg. Pr. अने छि, E. H. अनउ or अनौ; Skr. यशोवान् *glorious*, A. Mg. Pr. तसोवते or तसवते, E. H. तसवन्; Skr. दुर्बलः *weak*, Mg. दुबले, E. H. दुबर्; Skr. निश्चिन्तः *thoughtless*, Mg. निश्चिते, E. H. निश्चीत्; Skr. निस्तामयति *he pours off*, Mg. नित्यालइ, E. H. निथारै; Skr. निष्फलं *fruitless*, Mg. निष्फलं, E. H. नीफल; Skr. अग्निः *fire*, Mg. अग्गी, E. H. अगि; Skr. दुःखं *pain*, Mg. दुखै, E. H. दुख; Skr. अन्तःकरणं *conscience*, Mg. अंतक़लपं, E. H. अंतकर्न्; Skr. निष्कालयति *expels*, Mg. निक्कालइ, E. H. निकालै; Skr. निष्वासाः *breath*, A. Mg. निस्सारे, E. H. निसास्. It will be seen from this, that the spelling with a visarga (as दुःख्, अन्तःकरण्), affected by Hindí purists (especially foreign lexicographers), is indefensible. A sound, which had disappeared in Pr. already, could not have survived in Gd. As a matter of fact, no Hindú pronounces or writes<sup>1)</sup> it, even in tatsamas; they say *dukh* not *duḥkh*, and *antakaran* not *antahkaran*. The latter is even

1) I have seen a native writer use the visarga to indicate a sonant final *a*, as कारः *karaba* (you will do); the practice, however, is not to be commended; as little as the use of the anusvára to indicate *nasalization* (§§ 23. 8); both are abuses of the Skr. symbols.

sometimes pronounced *antkaran*, where the *quiescence* of the *ā*, which could not be unless the *ā* were final (see § 41), clearly proves the absence of a *visarga*.

23. The E. H. does not possess the *Anusvāra* (·) or unmodified nasal (M. M. 4) of the Skr. phonetic system. The *anusvāra* should be carefully distinguished from the *anundsika* (◌). The former is a separate sound (like the *visarga* or like any vowel or consonant), while the latter is merely the nasalization of a sound. If the breath is emitted wholly through the mouth, the *pure* sounds, whether vowels or consonants<sup>1)</sup>, are produced; if a part only be thus emitted, while the rest is allowed to escape simultaneously through the nose, a nasalized sound, whether vowel or consonant<sup>1)</sup>, is produced; if the breath is expelled wholly through the nose, the mouth being shut, a pure nasal sound (unmodified by any organ of speech in the mouth) is the result. The latter is the *anusvāra*, which, therefore, is called by native Grammarians *nāsikya*, because pronounced in the nose only. The second group, the nasalized sounds, are called by them *anunāsika* or *co-nasals*, because they are pronounced through both mouth and nose *at the same time*. The pure nasal, monopolising as it does the whole of the breath, cannot be pronounced *together with*, but only *after* another sound. Hence it is called by the native Gramm. *anusvāra*, i. e. *after-sound*. — Now any sound, whether vowel or consonant, may be nasalized, except *ṛ* *r*, *ṣ* *s* and *ḥ* *h*<sup>2)</sup>; but only five of these, when thus nasalized, are written with separate letters; viz. the nasal consonants or, briefly, the *class-nasals*, *ṅ* *n̄*, *ṇ* *n̄*, *ṁ* *m̄*, *ṃ* *n̄*, *ṅ* *m̄*. The nasalization of the rest (i. e. *ṛ*, *ṣ*, *ḥ* and the vowels, which I shall call, briefly, the *anunāsika*) is indicated by the sign (◌), called *arddhachandra* (halfmoon); thus *ṝ* *ṝ*, *ṣ̄* *ṣ̄*, *ḥ̄* *ḥ̄*, *ā̄* *ā̄*, *ī̄* *ī̄*, *ū̄* *ū̄*, etc. (§ 8). The pure nasal (or *anusvāra*) is denoted by the sign (·), called *bindu* (dot);

1) Modified in the mouth, according to the organ of speech, into gutturals, palatals, etc.

2) In Skr. also *ṣ̄* *ṣ̄* and *ḥ̄* *ḥ̄*; and in Gd. also *ṝ* *ṝ*.

thus *am̐* is the vowel *á* succeeded by a nasal tone, while *am̐̐* is the nasalized vowel *á*. The latter is but *one* sound; the former are two successive sounds. "The two cases, therefore, are quite distinct. — The anusvára has the nearest affinity to the class-nasal *m̐*; the latter is formed by a momentary, the former by a prolonged contact of the lips. — As to the use of these three kinds of nasals (the class-nasals, the anusvára and the anunásika) in Skr., Pr. and Gd. respectively, the following *general* laws may be laid down. *Firstly*, as regards the nasal in the *body of the word*. 1) In Skr.: a) a nasal standing before *ś* (श, ष) and *h* must be the anusvára; b) before any consonant proper it *must* be the respective class-nasal; c) before nasals, semivowels and vowels it must be one of the three, *ṃ* or *ṅ* or *ṁ* (cf. M. M. 5. 7. 59. 60). 2) In Pr.: a) a nasal standing before *ś* (Mg. श) *must* be the anusvára; b) before *h* and any cons. proper it *may* be either the anusvára or the respective class-nasal; in the latter case *h* changes to *ḥ* (H. C. 1, 264. T. V. 1, 3. 86); c) before nasals, semivowels and vowels *ṃ*, *ṅ* and *ṁ* remain, as a rule, unchanged<sup>1)</sup>; but occasionally *ṁ* before *ś* may be changed to anusvára, while before vowels it may become *ṁ* with or without anunásika or be elided<sup>2)</sup> (cf. ad a. b., Vr. 4, 17. H. C. 1, 29. 30. T. V. 1, 1. 47. 48; ad c., Vr. 3, 2. 3. 43. 44. 53. 2, 3. T. V. 1, 4. 78. 79. 37. 48. 49. 3, 2. 37. 44. 3, 3. 3. 1, 3. 11. H. C. 2, 42. 56. 61. 78. 79. 1, 23. 4, 397. 1, 178). 3) In Gd.: a) the nasal is never anusvára under any circumstances; b) before *ś*, *h*, and any cons. proper it *may* be either anunásika or the respective class-nasal; if anunásika, the preceding vowel is almost universally lengthened; if class-nasal, *h* becomes *ḥ*; c) before semivowels

1) Unless the conjunct is dissolved; as Skr. *चमिका* *tamarind*, Pr. *चमलिङ्गा*, H. इमली (see § 167).

2) Occasionally *ṁ* before vowels is changed to anusvára or anunásika in Pr.; as Skr. *गृहाणि* *houses*, Pr. *घराइं* or *घराइँ* (H. C. 3, 26. T. V. 2, 2. 31), M. *घरे*.

and vowels it is often changed to *anunásika*, in which case the hiatus-vowels are generally contracted. Compare the following examples: *ad a. b)* Skr. हंस: *goose*, A. Mg. हंसे, E. H. हँस् or हन्स्; Skr. सिंह: *lion*, A. Mg. सिंहे or सिंहे (or सिंघे), E. H. सोँह or सोँघ or सिंहु (or सिंघ § 13); Skr. पङ्क: *mud*, Mg. पंके or पङ्के, E. H. पँक् or पङ्क् (or पंक् § 13); Skr. अञ्जनम् *eyesalve*, Sr. अंजनां or अञ्जनां, E. H. अँजन् or अञ्जन्; Skr. कण्टक: *thorn*, Mg. कंटर् or कण्टर्, E. H. काँटा or कण्टा; Skr. चन्द्र: *moon*, Mg. चंदे or चन्दे, E. H. चाँद् or चन्द्; Skr. कम्पति *he trembles*, Mg. कंप् or कम्प्, E. H. काँपै or कम्पै; *ad c)* Skr. पुण्यम् *virtue*, A. Mg. पुण्यां or पुनं, E. H. पुन्; Skr. मन्यते *he heeds*, Mg. मनुद्, E. H. मानै; Skr. गम्यते *it passes*, Mg. गम्मद्, E. H. गमै; Skr. तम्वुल: *roseapple*, Mg. तम्वुले or \*तम्मले (§ 18), E. H. तामुन्; Skr. अम्वम् *mango*, Mg. अम्वं or \*अम्मं (§ 18), E. H. अाम्; Skr. जन्म्यते *is born* (Den. R.), Mg. जम्मद् (H. C. 4, 136), E. H. तामै or तमै; Skr. भ्रमर्क: *bee*, Ap. भवँरड, E. H. भौँरर; Skr. कमलम् *lotus*, Ap. कवलं, E. H. कवल्; Skr. कुमारः *prince*, Mg. कुमाले or कुमले (H. C. 4, 302. 1, 67), E. H. कुँमर् or कुचर्; Skr. स्थाने *at* (a place), Mg. थापो or (Ap.) थाणि, E. H. थेँ; Skr. पञ्चत्रिंशत् *thirty five*, Mg. पञ्चतीसा or पणतीसा (cf. H. C. 2, 174. 43), E. H. पैँतीस् (for पयँतीस्). There are a few exceptions; 1) in Pr.: *a)* occasionally the *anusvára* is optionally dropped, in which case the preceding vowel is generally lengthened (Vr. 1, 17. 4, 16. H. C. 1, 28. 29. T. V. 1, 1. 46. 48); *β)* occasionally an *anusvára* is substituted for a consonant proper forming the first part of a conjunct (Vr. 4, 15. H. C. 1, 26. T. V. 1, 1. 42); *γ)* the nasal preceding a consonant proper which is not *ásanna* (T. V. 1, 1. 47), i. e., between which and itself another consonant has been dropped, *must* be *anusvára* (H. C. 1, 25. T. V. 1, 1. 41); *δ)* a nasal, preceding ह् by transposition, remains, as a rule, unchanged; very rarely it is elided and the preceding vowel lengthened (Vr. 3, 8. 32. 33. H. C. 2, 74. 75. T. V. 1, 4. 67—70. H. C. 2, 73. T. V. 1, 4. 64). 2) In Gd.: *α* and *β)* the Pr. practice is retained and extended, only substituting *anunásika* for *anusvára*; *γ)* in this case also *anunásika* is substituted for *anusvára*; *δ)* either ह् is elided and the preceding



vowel lengthened or the conjunct is dissolved. Compare the following examples: ad *a*) Skr. विंशतिः *twenty*, Pr. वीसा, E. H. बीस्; Skr. सिंहः *lion*, Pr. सोहो or सिंहो, E. H. सोह् or सोह्, etc. (see above); Skr. मांसम् *flesh*, Pr. मासं or मंसं, E. H. मास् or मास् or मन्स्; Skr. संहरति *he collects*, Pr. संहर्इ or सहरइ (T. V. 3, 1. 133), E. H. सहरै; Skr. सम्मुखे *before*, Pr. संमुहे or समुहे, H. सामहे or समुहे or सोह्ही; Skr. पठन् *reading*, Mg. पठंते, E. H. पठन्; Skr. संस्यः *together with*, Mg. संये or सत्ये, E. H. साय्; ad *β*) Skr. वक्रम्, Pr. वंकं, E. H. बाक्; Skr. अश्रुकम् *tear*, Pr. अंशुअं, E. H. आसू; Skr. सत्यम् *true*, Pr. सत्तं, E. H. सात्; Skr. निद्रा *sleep*, Pr. पिद्रा, E. H. नोद्, etc. (see § 149); ad *γ*) Skr. पङ्क्तिः *row*, Pr. पंती, E. H. पांति; ad *δ*) Skr. चिह्नम् *sign*, Pr. चिणहं (H. C. 2, 50), E. H. चीन् or चिनहा; Skr. ब्राह्मणः *Brāhmaṇ*, Mg. बम्हणे, E. H. बामन् or बमहन्; Skr. कृष्णः *krishna*, Mg. कण्हे, E. H. कान् or कनह् (as in कानपुर *Cawnpur* and कनहैया लाल *Kanhaiyá Lál*); Skr. अस्मे, A. Mg. अम्ह, E. H. हम् *we*; Skr. कुष्माण्डः, Mg. कोहले, E. H. कोहर; Skr. तुष्णं, Pr. तुम्हं, E. H. तोहरा *your*.

*Secondly*; as regards the nasal म् at the end of a word: 1) in Skr. a) before consonants it may become anusvāra or the respective class-nasal; b) before vowels it remains म् (M. M. 29). 2) In Pr. a) before consonants it must become anusvāra; b) before vowels it generally becomes anusvāra or remains unchanged; but it may occasionally become anunāsika or be elided (Vr. 4, 12. 13. H. C. 1, 23. 24. T. V. 1, 1. 39. 40. §. C. 1, 1. 39. 40. H. C. 3, 25. T. V. 2, 2. 30). 3) In old Gd. it becomes anunāsika if preceded by a long vowel, and is elided if preceded by a short one; this is on the whole preserved by M., G. and S.; in the other modern Gds., as in H., B., etc., it is always elided. Compare the following examples: Skr. फलं त्रोटयति or फलन्त्रोटयति *he breaks fruit*, Pr. फलं तोडै, E. H. फल् तोडै; Skr. फलं लभते or फलल्लभते *he takes fruit*, Pr. फलं लहइ or लेइ, E. H. फल् ले; Skr. फलमवहति *he gathers fruit*, Mg. फलं अवहलइ or फलमवहलइ, E. H. फल् (बोहरै); Skr. दधि *curds*, Pr. दहिं or दहिं or दहि; Skr. दधिकम्, Pr. दहिअं, M. दही, E. H. दही. This induction clearly proves two things. *Firstly*; that in the main a gradual attenuation of the nasal has taken place. The nasal

consonant of the Sanskrit becomes anusvára in Pr., and anunásika in Gd., and finally drops of altogether<sup>1</sup>). In one instance, however, a consolidation of the nasal has taken place; namely the Skr. anusvára before स् and ह् has become in Pr. a nasal consonant before ह्, and in Gd. before both स् and ह्. *Secondly*, that Gd. possesses no anusvára. This fact has been much obscured by the objectionable modern practice of writing and printing the anusvára, instead of the anunásika, as मैँ I for मैँ, होँ lip for होँ, etc. The correct practice, which is still generally followed by natives of the old school in their writing and printing<sup>2</sup>), is to use the anusvára, just as in Skr. (M. M. 5. 59), only when the full nasal consonant ought to be written and *must be pronounced*. Here, of course, the dot is not the real anusvára, but merely a sort of stenographic sign for the class-nasal, used for the sake of more expeditious writing and not affecting the pronunciation in any way. The anunásika, on the other hand, is used whenever a vowel is to be pronounced with a nasal tone. Thus natives write and pronounce either चाँद् *chād* or चंद *chand*, but not चाँद्. It would be well, to revert generally to this older and more correct practice. In the present work the distinction will be carefully observed.

## 2. CHAPTER. EUPHONIC PERMUTATION OF LETTERS.

### 1) IN PRONUNCIATION AND INFLECTION.

#### VOWELS.

24. If any word ends in a short अ, ँ, that अ, ँ becomes *quiescent*, that is, it is not pronounced; and such a word may practically be considered as one ending in a consonant. The

1) H. C. (4, 411) and T. V. (3, 4. 67) have a rule on the Ap. Pr. which seems to indicate such an *attenuation* of the final nasal (anusvára); बिन्दोर् अन्ते। पदान्ते वर्तमानस्य बिन्दोर् अपभ्रंशे उच्चारलाघवं भवति प्रायः॥ i. e. the anusvára at the end of a word is usually pronounced *slightly*.

2) In writing the anunásika commonly appears as two dots (··), the second being merely an abbreviation of the semicircle (◌).

quiescent *ā* will, for the sake of clearness, be indicated in this work by the *virāma* (cf. § 3, note). Thus बाघ् *bāgh* tiger (not *bāgha*); बात् *bāt* word; चलत् *chalat* walking; होइब् *hoib* we shall be.

*Exception.* It is always pronounced in the 2<sup>nd</sup> pers. plur. in conjugation; thus होइब् *hōiba* you shall be (not *hoib*), बाट् *bāṭa* you are (not *bāt*).

25. An antepenultimate *ā* is always made *ā* which with a following इ *i* or उ *u* optionally, yet generally, combines to ए *ai* and औ *du*. Antepenultimate ई *i*, उ *u*, ए *e*, ओ *o* are shortened whenever followed by a consonant (excl. euphonic *y* and *v*). Thus रम-वा *ram'vā* long form of राम् *rām* Rāma; गिध-वा *gidh'vā* of गीध् *gidh* vulture; घो-वा *ghor'vā* of घोरा *ghorā* horse; बेट-वा *beṭ'vā* of बेटा *betā* son; मिट-का *miṭkā* of मीटा *mitā* sweet; नउवा *naūvā* or नौवा *naudā* of नाउ *nāu* barber; भइया *bhāiyā* or भैया *bhaiyā* of भाई *bhāi* brother; बतिया *batiyā* of बात् *bāt* word; सुत-लो *sut'lō* 1<sup>st</sup> pr. sg. pret. of सूतब् *sūtab* to sleep; खइब् *khaibō* or खैब् *khaibō* 1<sup>st</sup> pr. sg. fut. of खाइब् *khaib* to eat; करउतो *karaūtō* or करीतो *karautō* 1<sup>st</sup> pr. sg. pret. conj. of कराइब् *karāib* to cause to do (for कराव-तो *karāv'tō*, see § 34); but पीयतो *piyatō* (if) I drank; छूअलो *chūalō* or छूवलो *chūvālō* I touched (see § 65).

*Exception.* The long vowel of a transitive (or causal) root is never shortened; e. g., मार-लो *mār'lō* I killed of मारब् *marb*, caus. of मरब् *marb* to die.

*Note:* There are traces of this law in Pr.; e. g., Ap. Pr. तइसो for \*ताइसो (H. C. 4, 403. T. V. 3, 3. 10) = Mh. तारिसो, Skr. तादृशः *such*.

26. The short ऐ *ē* and औ *āi* are sometimes reduced to इ *i*, and short ओ *ō* and औ *āu* to उ *u*; or, more often, all four to अ *ā*. Thus: बेटिया *bēṭiyā* or बिटिया *biṭiyā* daughter; कहे *kahē* or कहि *kahi* having said; गैलेन् *gailēn* or गैलन् *gailan* they went; गैलै *gailāi* or गैल *gailā* they went; लोटिया *lōṭiyā* or लुटिया *luṭiyā* brass vessel; परोसिया *parōsiyā* or परसिया *parasiyā* neighbouring; जनोउ *janōu* or जनउ *janāu* brahmanical thread; औ *āu* or अ *a* and; और *aur* or अर *ar* and; मुमाखी or मौमाखी *honey-bee*; चवालिस or चौवालिस *forty four*, etc.

*Note:* There are traces of this law in Pr.; e. g., वेद्यपा or विद्यपा *pain* (Vr. 1, 34); सप्तिच्छरो *saturday* for Skr. शनैश्चरः, E. H. सनीश्चर (H. C. 1, 149. cf. Vr. 1, 38); सत्सुत्तरस्य *one hundred and seven* for Skr. सप्तोत्तरशतम् (Wh. Bh. 427); अन्तुन् or अन्तुन् *mutual* for Skr. अन्योन्यम् (H. C. 1, 156); चुडो *drunk* for Skr. शोषणः (Vr. 1, 44); Ap. कवणु *who* (H. C. 4, 395. cf. 4, 408) for केवणु = केवडु (lit. of *what sort*, see § 438, 2).

27. A final *anunāsika* is often omitted; thus तू *tū* or तू *tū* *you*; तै *tai* or तै *tai* *thou*; मै *mai* or मै *mai* *I*; मे *mē* or मे *mē* *me in*; नाँही *nāhī* or नाँही *nāhī* *not*; जानी *jānī* or जानी *jānī* *we know*, etc.

28. To avoid the *hiatus* of two contiguous vowels, *y* is inserted after आ *ā*, ई *ī*; and optionally व् *v*, after ऊ *ū*, ओ *o* and ए *e*. But neither *y* nor *v* can be inserted, if the second vowel be इ *i* or ई *ī*; in this case the hiatus, as a rule, remains, though अइ *ai* may and ईइ *īi* must be contracted to ऐ *ai* and ई *ī* respectively, if they are followed by a heavy syllable. Thus: खिया + अल् = खियायल् *khiyayal* *it was eaten*; जा + ए = जाये *to go*; पी + अल् = पीयल् *piyab* *to drink*; पी + ऐ = पीयै *piyai* *he drinks*; again चूवल् *chúvat* or चूअल् *chúat* *dripping* from चू + अल्; चूवै *chúvai* or चूऐ *chúai* *it drips* from चू + ऐ; रोवल् *rovat* or रोअल् *roāt* *weeping* from रो + अल्; रोवै *rovai* or रोऐ *roai* *he weeps* from रो + ऐ; लेवै के *levai ke* or लेऐ के *leai ke* *to take from* ले + ऐ. But खा + ई = खाई *khái* *he shall eat*; खा + ईला = खाईला *kháilā* *we eat*; पी + ईला = पीईला *pīlā* *we drink*; चू + ई = चूई *chúi* *it will drip*; चू + ईला = चूईला *chúilā* *we drip*; बोई *boi* *he will sow*, बोईला *boilā* *we sow*; देई *dei* *he will give*, देईला *deilā* *we give*; again खाइबै *khaibai* or खैबै *khaibai* *we shall eat from* खा + इबै; पीबै *pibai* *we shall drink from* पी + इबै; खाइबू *kháib* *we shall eat from* खा + इबू; पीइत् *pīit* (if) *we drank from* पी + इत्; चूइबै *chúibai* and चूइबू *chúib* *we shall drip*; बोइबै *boibai* and बोइबू *boib* *we shall sow*; लेइत् *leit* (if) *we took from* ले + इत्.

*Exception 1.* The suff. ई (3. pr. sg. fut. ind.) may optionally combine with a preceding ई to ईई; thus पी + ई = पीई *pīi* or पी *pī* *he will drink*; जी + ई = जीई *jīi* or जीई *jīi* *he will live*.

*Exception 2.* The initial अ of the suffs. of the fut. ind. (viz. खाओ etc.), of the pres. part. (अत्) and of the pret. conj. (viz. खातो etc.) combines with a preceding आ or ए, and with ओ of the verb हो to become to आ, ए, ओ respectively; thus खा + खाओ = खाओ *khāō I shall eat*; दे + दओ = देओ *debō I shall give*; हो + खाओ = होओ *hobō I shall be*; खा + अत् = खात् *khāt eating*; दे + अत् = देत् *det giving*; हो + अत् = होत् *hot being*.

### SINGLE CONSONANTS.

29. र *r* is generally substituted for ढ *r*; thus E. H. तेरै *he breaks* for W. H. तेढे; E. H. तेरै *he joins* for W. H. तेढे; E. H. बारी *garden* for W. H. बाढी; E. H. जोर *wife* for W. H. जोढ; E. H. नारी *artery* for W. H. नाढी, etc. Sometimes also र् *rh* for ढ *rh*; as E. H. बाहै *bārhai he grows* for बाढे (W. H. बाढे); E. H. गार्है *gārhai he beats into form* for W. H. गाढे.

30. र *r* is almost universally substituted for a non-initial ल *l*; thus E. H. फर *fruit* for W. H. फल्; E. H. गारै *abuse* for W. H. गाली; E. H. चरै *he walks* for W. H. चले; E. H. डारै *he throws* for W. H. डाले; E. H. करिया *black* for कलिया, etc.; but never रोग for लोग *people*, etc.

*Exception.* The ल of the suff. अल् of the past tense never changes; e. g., गयल् *gone*, not गयर्; पढलो *I read*, not पढरो.

31. ल *l* and न *n*, if initial, are sometimes interchanged; thus ल for न in लीला *dark blue* or नीला (Skr. नील); and न for ल in नोन् *salt* or लोन् (Skr. लवण, cf. Vr. 1, 7); नंगोट् *waistcloth* or लंगोट् (Skr. लिङ्गपट्ट; Mg. लिंगवट्ट) <sup>1</sup>.

32. ह *h* may be dropped; 1) always final, thus तेह के or ते के *of whom*; ओह के or ओ के *of that*; ऐलह or ऐल *aila you came*; कर्तह or कर्त *karata (if) you did*. 2) sometimes medial (see § 126); as ताँ or तहाँ *there*, काँ or कहाँ *where*, ताँ or तहाँ *wheresoever*, मे or मेँ or माहीँ *within*; के or (O. H.) काहीँ *towards*; मराठा or मरहठा *a Mardāḥā*; सगा *full brother* for \*सगहा (see § 120); दिवा *day* for \*दिखहा (see § 134, note).

1) Not from नंग, Skr. नग्न *naked*, as Bs. I, 248; the original ङ of लिंग is preserved in the ए of B. नेंगुटि.

33. A medial *v*, followed by *i* or *ī*, is always elided; and further *i* (but not *ī*) combines with a preceding *ā* (or *a* by § 25) to *ai*; thus पाव् + इबो (= प + इबो) = पैबो *I shall find*; \*आव् + इबे = ऐबे *thou wilt come*; लियाव् + इबह् = लियैबह् *you will cause to eat*. But पाव् + ई = पाई *he will find*; आव् + ई = आई *we come*; लियाव् + ईला = लियाईला *we cause to eat*.

34. A medial *y* or *v*, containing a neutral vowel (see § 5, a), are vocalized to *i* and *u* respectively, and optionally combine with a preceding *ā* (or originally *ā* by § 25) to *ai* or *au*. Thus गवल् + ऐस् (= गय-लेस् *gay'les*) = गइलेस् *gay'les* or गैलेस् *gaites* *thou wentest*; पिया + अल्यू (= पियय-ल्यू *piyay'lyū*) = पियइल्यू *piyailyū* or पियैल्यू *piyailyū* *I could be drunk*; कराव् + अतो (= कर्वा-तो *karav'tō*) = कर्उतो *karav'tō* or कर्ओतो *karav'tō* (if) *I caused to do*; चराव् + अलेस् (= चरव-लेस् *charav'les*) = चरउलेस् *charav'les* or चरौलेस् *charav'les* *he caused to walk*.

35. *Affinities*. There are instances of this change in Pr.; thus आइरिओ or आयरिओ = Skr. आचार्यः (H. C. 1, 73); केलं for \*कइलं for कयलं = Skr. कदलम् (H. C. 1, 167); ओरं for \*अउरं for \*अवरं = Skr. अदरम् (H. C. 1, 170); असरइ for \*अउसरइ for अवसरइ = Skr. अपसरति (H. C. 1, 172); पाउरणं = Skr. प्रावरणम् (H. C. 1, 175); उसहो or वसहो = Skr. वृषभः (H. C. 1, 133); also in inflexion as तेदि = \*तइदि = Skr. तयति; होदि = \*हउदि = Skr. भवति, etc.; see § 18, note 3, p. 18).

### COMPOUND CONSONANTS.

36. *kh* is always pronounced and written *chh*; thus छोटा *chhotā* *small* (Skr. क्षुद्रकः?); छत्रो *chhatrī* *a chhatrī* (Skr. क्षत्रियः); क्षमा *chhamā* *forgiveness* (Skr. क्षमा *kshamā*).

37. *jñ* is always pronounced and generally written *gy*; as ग्यान् *gyān* *knowledge* (Skr. ज्ञान *jñāna*); आग्या *āgyā* *command* (Skr. आज्ञा *ājñā*).

38. *ṃh* is always pronounced and generally written *ṃgh* (or *ṅgh*); as संघ *saṅgh* *collection* (Skr. संघः *saṃghaḥ*); संघात् *saṅghāt* *collection* (Skr. संग्रहः *saṃgrahaḥ*); सिंह *siṅh* *lion* (Skr. सिंहः); सिंघासन *siṅghāsan* *thron* (Skr. सिंहासनम्), etc. (see § 159).

39. 'स' *ms* is always pronounced and written 'स' *ns* (i. e. न्स *ns*, cf. §§ 13. 23); as वंस (or वन्स्) *bans race* (Skr. वंशः *vamśah*); वंसीधर (or वन्सीधर) *bansidhar a name* (lit. *flute-holder*, Skr. वंशीधरः *vamśīdharah*); हिंसा (or हिन्सा) *hinsā slaughter* (Skr. हिंसा *himsā*); हंस (or हन्स्) *hans goose* (Skr. हंसः *hamsah*), etc. (see § 159).

*Note:* It has become the fashion in modern times, to resuscitate the writing of न and ह्; but the practice of the older, native school is more correct and preferable.

## 2) IN DERIVATION<sup>1)</sup>.

### a) CHANGES OF FINAL SOUNDS.

40. *In limine*, it should be observed, that Skr. and Pr. nouns pass into Gd. in the form of the nominative singular, the final sound of which undergoes the following changes:

41. A *visarga* or *anusvāra* is dropped, and a preceding *अ* becomes quiescent; thus E. H. पुत्र *son* (a tats.) for Skr. पुत्रः; E. H. कवि *poet* for Skr. कविः; E. H. गुरु *teacher* for Skr. गुरुः; E. H. परगट् *manifest*, Skr. प्रकटम्; E. H. वन *forest*, Pr. वणं (Vr. 4, 12), Skr. वनम्; E. H. सै or सय् *hundred*, Mg. सयं (Wb. Bh. 427), Skr. शतम्; E. H. खेत् *field*, Pr. खेत्तं (H. C. 2, 17 क्षेत्रं), Skr. क्षेत्रम्; E. H. वारि *water*, Pr. वारि or वारिँ or वारिँ (cf. H. C. 3, 25), Skr. वारिः; E. H. मधु *honey*, Pr. मधु or मधुँ or मधुं (cf. H. C. 3, 25), Skr. मधु, see § 23.

42. Pr. masc. or fem. या or अ becomes quiescent अ; thus E. H. नीदू *sleep*, Ap. निदू (H. C. 4, 418), Pr. गिदू (Vr. 1, 12), Skr. निद्रा (fem.); E. H. बाह् *arm* (also बाँह्), Ap. वाह (H. C. 4, 329), Pr. वाहा (H. C. 1, 36. 4, 329), Skr. वाहा (fem.); E. H. बात् *word, event*, Pr. वत्ता (Vr. 3, 24), Skr. वार्ता (fem.); E. H. राय् *prince*, Ap. राय (H. C. 4, 402), Pr. राया (H. C. 3, 136) or राया (Vr. 5, 36), Skr. राजा (masc.).

43. Pr. masc. or fem. ई or इ becomes इ or quiescent अ; thus E. H. दीह् or दीहि *sight*, Ap. दिद्वि (H. C. 4, 330) or Pr. दिद्वि

1) This list of sandhi-laws lays no claim to completeness, a quality unattainable in the present state of our knowledge of Gd. derivation; but it contains, perhaps, all the more important and more general phenomena.

(H. C. 1, 128), Skr. दृष्टिः (fem.); E. H. बहिन् or बहिनि *sister*, Ap. बहिणि (H. C. 4, 351) or Pr. बहिणी (H. C. 2, 126), Skr. भगिनी (cf. § 132, note); E. H. अग् or अगि *fire* (fem.), Pr. अगो (Vr. 5, 18. fem.), Skr. अग्निः (masc.); E. H. अक्ष or अक्षि *eye* (fem.), Ap. अक्षि (cf. H. C. 4, 396), Pr. अक्षी (Vr. 4, 20. fem.), Skr. अक्षि (neutr.); E. H. मुन् or मुनि *sage*, Ap. मुणि (cf. H. C. 4, 341) or Pr. मुणी (cf. H. C. 3, 125), Skr. मुनिः (masc.); E. H. बिहफै or बिफै *thursday*, Pr. बिहफई (H. C. 1, 138), Skr. बृहस्पतिः (masc.); E. H. ज्ञान् or ज्ञानि *sage*, Pr. ज्ञाणी, Skr. ज्ञानी (masc.).

44. Pr. masc. or fem. ऊ or उ becomes उ or quiescent अ; thus E. H. त्र or त्र *tree*, Ap. त्र (H. C. 4, 370), Pr. त्र (H. C. 1, 177), Skr. त्रः (masc.); E. H. पंसू *rib*, Pr. पंसू (H. C. 1, 26), Skr. पंसूः (masc.); E. H. तन् or तनु *body*, Ap. तणु (H. C. 4, 401) or Pr. तणू (cf. Vr. 5, 18), Skr. तनुः (fem.); E. H. पतोह् or पतोहु *daughter-in-law*, Pr. पुत्रवहू (cf. Spt. 122), Skr. पुत्रवधू; E. H. सासू or सासु *mother-in-law*, Pr. सासू (Spt. 339), Skr. श्वश्रूः.

45. Pr. masc. ए or इ becomes ऐ ळ or इ or quiescent अ; thus E. H. माग् *road*, Mg. मैगि or मगे (Mchh. 96, 20), Skr. मार्गः; E. H. नर् *man*, Mg. नलि or नले (H. C. 4, 288), Skr. नः; E. H. काम्, 'Mg. कम्मि or कम्मे (Wb. Bh. 420. masc.), Skr. कर्म (neutr.); E. H. कर्त् *doing*, Mg. कलन्ति or कलेन्ति or कलेन्ति (Mchh. 108, 18), Skr. कुर्वन्; E. H. रखल् or रखिल् *kept*, Mg. लक्खिदि or लक्खिदे (Mchh. 112, 6), Skr. उल्लिखितः. Also in locatives; as E. H. लाग् or लागि *till*, Ap. लगि or लगे (H. C. 4, 334), Skr. लग्ने; and in conjunct participles, as E. H. कह् or कहि or कहे *kahē having said*, A. Mg. कहे (see Wb. Bh. 435) or Mh. कहिच्च, Skr. कथित्वा (see § 490, 491).

46. *Affinities.* The termin. ए or इ is Mg. Pr.; the Mh.-Sr. is ओ and Ap. उ (H. C. 4, 332) and both become in W. Gd. उ or quiescent अ; in O. H. and especially in S. the Ap. उ is still preserved; thus W. H. नर्, O. H. and S. नर् (Tr. 33) *man*, Ap. नर् (H. C. 4, 362) or नर् (K. I. 9) or Pr. नरो or नरो (H. C. 1, 229); W. H. काम्, S. कम् (Tr. 33) *work*, Ap. कम्मु, Pr. कम्मो (Vr. 4, 18); W. H. माग्, O. H. मागु, S. मागु *road*, Ap. मागु (H. C. 4, 357), Pr. मागो (Vr. 3, 50); Kn. कर्त्, Br. कर्त्तु *doing*, Ap. कर्त्तु,



Sr. कर्तो or कर्त्तो. — It will be observed that just as Mh.-Sr. ओ is reduced to Ap. उ, so Mg. ए is reduced to इ. This is expressly stated by Vr. 11, 10. K. 1. 12 (cf. Ls. 393. 402) and Md. 12, 20 (fol. 49<sup>a</sup>) सौ पुंस्यदेदितौ। पुंसि सौ परे ऋकार् एदितौ स्याताम्। i. e., masc. nouns in *ā* have a nom. sing. in *e* or *i*. The form in इ (like that in उ) was probably Ap. Mg. It only occurs exceptionally in the Bhag. (see Wb. Bh. 416). H. C. (4, 287) and T. V. (3, 2. 30) do not notice it; which, perhaps, shows that Ap. Mg. इ was pronounced like short ऐ ऐ (cf. H. C. 4, 410. and see § 6). — In the Gds., especially in their literary forms, the final इ and उ generally become quiescent, and hence are omitted in *writing*, and thence again have come to be practically identical with quiescent ऋ. — Occasionally E. H. has Ap. Sr. forms; as घाव् wound, Ap. घाउ (H. C. 4, 346), Sr. घाओ, Skr. घातः.

47. Pr. masc. ऋ becomes ऋ; thus E. H. घोरा horse, Mg. घोउए, Skr. घोटकः; E. H. भला good, Ap. भल्ला (H. C. 4, 351), Mg. भल्लए, Skr. भट्टकः; E. H. घरा pitcher, Mg. घउए, Skr. घटकः.

48. *Affinities*. The term. ऋ is Mg.; the Mh.-Sr. is ओओ, and Ap. ओउ; the latter contracts in the W. and N. Gd. to ओ or (Br.) ओ; thus Br. ओओ, भलो, घओ 'Mw., G., S., N. ओओ, भलो, घओ; only P. forms an exception in having the E. H. term. ऋ, and hence it has got into Urdú and H. H.; thus P., U., H. H. ओओ, भला, घओ. Again M., B. and O. have ऋ like E. H. It will be seen, then, that while E. and S. Gd. have ऋ, W. and N. Gd. have ओ or ओ; again Mg. Pr. has ऋ, Mh.-Sr. Pr. has ओओ; hence it may be concluded, that the E. and S. Gd. termin. ऋ is a modification of the Mg. Pr. ऋ, while the W. and N. Gd. ओ or ओ is a modification of the Mh.-Sr. ओओ. The Ap. Pr. has both ओओ and ओउ (H. C. 4, 332). Probably the Br. ओ is a contraction of the Ap. ओउ; as Ap. भल्लउ, Br. भलो good; while the Mw., G., S., N. ओ is a contraction of the Ap. ओओ, by the quiescence of उ; as Ap. भल्लओ, Mw., G., S. भलो (i. e. भल्लओ). The Ap. Mg. form, corresponding to the Ap. Sr. ओउ, would be ओइ (cf. § 46); this is still preserved in the Psh. ए (Tr. J. G. O. S. XXI, 37), as Psh. तलै talai bottom,

E. H. तरा or तला, S. तलो, Ap. Mg. तलइ or तलए, Ap. Sr. तलउ or तलओ, Skr. तलकः; but the Psh. has also occasionally the E. Gd. form आ; as Psh. लगिआ *applied*, P. लगिआ, Bs. and H. H. लगा, Ap. Mg. लगिअइ or लगिदए, Skr. लग्नकः (lit. \*लगितकः), Ap. लगिअउ, Br. लगयो, Sr. लगिअओ, S. लगिओ or लगयो. The Psh. ऐ *ai*, then, corresponds to Br. औ *au*; being contractions of (Ap.) Mg. अइ *aï* and Ap. (Sr.) अउ *aü* respectively; on the other hand, E. and S. Gd. आ corresponds to W. and N. Gd. ओ, being contractions of the Mg. अए and Sr. अओ respectively, by the quiescence of अ. It appears, then, that the termin. आ is distinctly Mg., and merely a (comparatively modern) modification of the old Mg. ए; and not, as it is usually assumed, of the old Sr. ओ. There are, however, some traces of the termin. आ in Pr.; moreover, they seem to be distinctly connected with Mg. Pr. *Firstly*: Vr. (11, 17) expressly gives शिआला as a Mg. by-form of शिआले *jackal* (E. H. सियार). *Secondly*: Vr. (11, 13) and K. I. (Ls. 393) state that the Mg. vocative ends in आ, and Mđ. (12, 21. 22. fol 49<sup>a</sup>) adds also ए, as चेलए or चेलआ (E. H. चेरा) *oh! disciple*<sup>1</sup>). That is, the nom.

1) Vr. 11, 17 वृगालस्य शिआला शिआले शिआलकाः and Mđ. 12, 21 एदोती सम्बोधने प्रायः पुंसि सम्बोधने एदोती स्यातां हे वञ्चसे हे वञ्चसो प्रायो ग्रहणात् हे गोमिका हे भट्टिदालाआ i. e., the voc. of masc. nouns in ऌ ends in *e* or *o*, as, *he voamse, he voamso* (Skr. वयस्य); and Mđ. 12, 22 आदाक्षेपे पुंसि सम्बुद्धौ अकार आ स्याद् आक्षेपे अले ले त्वेलआ चकारात् त्वेलए त्वेलओ i. e., the voc. of masc. nouns in ऌ, in the sense of rebuke, ends in *ā*; also in *e* and *o*. Neither H. C. nor T. V. give these rules in their chapter on Mg; but they have an allusion to the voc. in आ in their chapt. on the Ap. (H. C. 4, 330. T. V. 3, 4. 1); e. g., होला मई तुहुं वारिआ मा कह दीहा मापु; this is Bs. होला मै तूँ के बारा मत् कह दीहा मान् i. e., lit. boy! I have forbidden you, do not make long sulkiness!; again बिट्टीए मई भणिय तुहुं मा कह वंकी दिट्ठि, = Bs. बेटी मै भनि तूँ के मत् कह वंकी दीह i. e., lit. daughter! I have told you, do not make a coquettish look. It is to be noted, that K. I. (16. 18. cf. Ls. 450) gives both आ and ए as the termin. of the voc. in Ap. Pr. In the present day, E. H. has a voc. in आ, but W. H. in ए; as E. H. हे चेरा, W. H. हे चेले *oh disciple*. This, perhaps, explains the silence of H. C. and T. V. as to the Mg. nom. and voc. in आ; they have relegated it into their chapt. on Ap., in which as, perhaps, indicated in H. C. 4, 447

sing. in ए is used in Mg. as voc., and the form in छा is but a slightly worn down by-form of the nom. (as usual with 'Pr. voc., cf. H. C. 3, 38. T. V. 2, 2. 42<sup>1</sup>). The latter form, which was at first (in Mg.) confined to the voc.-nom., is in Gd. extended to the nom. generally. *Thirdly*: H. C. gives several instances of a nom. in छा in the Ap. Pr.; e. g., भल्ला हुआ नु मारिछा बहिणि महारा कंतु। (4, 351); this is A. Mg. Ap.; the corresponding Sr. Ap. is in कंतु महाराउ हलि सहिए निच्छइं रत्तेइ नासु। (4, 358); the former is Bs. (a kind of semi E. Gd., see Introd.) भल्ला हुआ नु मारा बहिन् मोरा काँत्, i. e., it has happened well, sister, that my husband has killed; the other is Br. (W. H.) काँत् मेरौ सहेली निहचै रत्ते नासु i. e. surely friend! with whom my husband is angry<sup>2</sup>).

49. Pr. masc. इए and उए become ई and उ respectively; thus E. H. तेली oilman, Mg. तेलिए (cf. H. C. 2, 98), Skr. तैलिकः; E. H. माली gardener, Mg. मालिए, Skr. मालिकः; E. H. बहिनोई (W. H. भौनाई) sister's husband, Mg. बहिणिवइए, Skr. भगिनीपतिकः; E. H. नातो grandchild, Pr. नत्तिओ (H. C. 1, 137), Skr. नप्तृकः; E. H. भाई brother, Pr. \*भाइओ (cf. H. C. 1, 137), Skr. भातृकः; again E. H. बिहू scorpion, Mg. बिहुए (Vr. 1, 15. 3, 41, T. V. 1, 4. 18), Skr. वृश्चिकः; E. H. लडू a kind of sweetmeat, Mg. लडुए, Skr. लडुकः; E. H. गोहूँ wheat (H. H. गेहूँ), Ap. Mg. गोहूँवे (cf. H. C. 4, 397), Mg. गोहुमे, Skr. गोधुमः.

50. Affinities. These contractions into ई and उ are common to all Gds.; but in W. and N. Gd. they arise from the Mh.-Sr. termin. इओ and उओ respectively; as W. H. तेली, Sr. तेलिओ; W. H. माली, Sr. मालिओ; W. H. भौनाइ, Sr. भामिणिवइओ (cf. H. C. 1, 190); W. H. बिहू, Skr. बिहुओ; W. H. लडू, Sr. लडुओ; W. H. गोहूँ, Sr. गोहुमो. But M. and S. have भाउ brother, Dk. भाउए or भाउओ

and T. V. 3, 4. 71, rules of various Ap. dialects would seem to be mixed up (see also Ps. IX).

1) The voc. in Mh.-Sr. Pr. is either like the nom. हे चेलो or worn down हे चेल; so in Mg. either like nom. हे चेले, or worn down हे चेला.

2) It is also like P., which shares the nom. in छा with E. Gd., भल्ला होइछा जो मारिछा बहिन् मेरा काँत्.

(H. C. 1, 131); नातू *grandson*, Pr. ननुओ (H. C. 1, 137). This contraction as well as those noted in the following paragraphs, may be explained by the apparently Pr. tendency of lengthening the antepenultimate इ (see Wb.<sup>9</sup> Bh. 438) and उ; while at the same time the final ए and ओ have a tendency in the Ap. to be shortened to इ and उ (see § 46), and in Gd. to be cast off altogether (see § 45); thus Mg. तेल्लिए, Ap. \*तेल्लिइ, \*तेल्लीइ, Gd. तेल्लो, Sr. तेल्लिओ, Ap. तेल्लिउ, \*तेल्लोउ, Gd. तेल्लो; or Mg. लडुए, Ap. \*लडुइ, \*लडूइ, Gd. लडू, \*Sr. लडुओ, Ap. लडुउ, \*लेडूउ, Gd. लडू• (cf. § 65, note). There are some traces of this contraction in Pr.; thus Pr. प्वासू *traveller* (T. V. 1, 2. 48) or पावासू (H. C. 1, 44. T. V. 1, 2. 10) or पावासुओ (H. C. 1, 95) = Skr. प्रवासी (or प्रवासकः); Pr. सव्वणू *omniscient* (H. C. 1, 56) for \*सव्वणुओ (= Skr. सर्वज्ञः); and other words in एणू.

51. Pr. fem. इया and उया become ई and ऊ respectively; thus E. H. घोरी *mare*, Pr. घोडिआ, Skr. घोटिका; E. H. माटी *earth* (W. H. मिटी), Pr. मट्टिआ (H. C. 2, 29), Skr. मृत्तिका; E. H. लाठी *club*, Pr. लट्टिआ (cf. H. C.<sup>3</sup> 1, 247), Skr. यष्टिका; E. H. मउसु *mother's sister*, Pr. माउसिआ (H. C. 1, 134. 2, 142), Skr. मातृष्वसृका; E. H. माई *mother*, Pr. \*माइआ (see § 63), Skr. मातृका; again E. H. पतोहू *son's wife*, Pr. पुन्नवहुआ (cf. Spt. 35), Skr. पुन्नवधुका; E. H. बालू *sand*, Pr. वालुआ, Skr. बालुका.

52. *Affinities*. Here all Gds. agree; as do also all Prs. But M. has माउ *mother*, Pr. माउआ (H. C. 1, 131), Skr. मातृका. The steps of change are probably these (see § 42); Pr. घोडिआ, Ap. घोडिअ (H. C. 4, 330) or \*घोडीअ, Gd. घोडी; Pr. बालुआ, Ap. वालुअ or \*वालूअ, Gd. बालू, etc.

53. Pr. neut. अञ्चं, इञ्चं and उञ्चं become आ, ई and ऊ respectively; thus E. H. सोना *gold*, Pr. सोणपाञ्चं (cf. Spt. 194) or सुवणपाञ्चं (cf. H. C. 1, 26), Skr. सुवर्णकम्; E. H. तामा *copper*, Mg. \*नम्मञ्चं (see § 18) or तम्मञ्चं (cf. Vr. 3, 53), Skr. ताम्रकम्; E. H. लोहा *iron*, Pr. लोहञ्चं, Skr. लोहकम्; again E. H. घी *clarified butter*, Pr. घिञ्चं (cf. Spt. 22), Skr. घृतम्; E. H. पानी *water*, Pr. पाणिञ्चं (Vr. 1, 18), Skr. पानीयम्; E. H. दही *curds*, Pr. दहिञ्चं, Skr. दधिकम्; E. H. मोती

pearl, Pr. मेनित्रं, Skr. मौक्तिकम्; again E. H. आँसू tear, Pr. अंसुअं (cf. H. C. 1, 26), Skr. अमृकम्; E. H. यू yoke, Pr. युअं, Skr. युगम्; E. H. आलू potato, Pr. आलुअं, Skr. आलुकम्.

54. *Affinities.* As regards the forms in आ, B., O. and also P. agree with E. H.; thus B., O., E. H. तामा, P. ताँआ. M. has ऐ; as ताँऐ. The M. nouns are neuter, but the corresponding E. Gd. ones are masc.; compare the masc. forms in § 47. In Mg. Pr. neuter nouns either end in अअं or (becoming masc.) in अए (cf. Wb. Bh. 416. Ls. 399). From the Mg. अअं or with the favorite euph. ए, अयं, which form still occurs occasionally in O. H., arises the contracted M. ऐ. From the Mg. masc. अए arises probably the E. Gd. आ. On the other hand, the corresponding termin. in G. is उँ or उ; as ताँबुँ or ताँबु; in Mw. ओँ or ओ, as ताँबोँ or ताँबो; in Br. औँ or औ (or also आ); in S. ओ, as टामो. The forms with anunásika are neuter, those without it are masculine. These W. Gd. forms have arisen from the Ap. (Sr.) Pr., which has the neut. termin. अउं (H. C. 4, 354. T. V. 3, 4. 26). This contracts in W. H. to औँ or औँँ and is shortened in G. to उँ. By dropping the final anunásika, the neuters would, naturally, become masc., through identity of termination; see § 48. This masculinizing tendency is seen already in the Ap. Pr., where the neut. termin. अं sometimes becomes masc. उ (Ls. 460. 476. H. C. 4, 331. 445; as m. तलु water for n. तलं, cf. H. C. 4, 395), and similarly neut. अउं would become masc. अउ. As regards the forms in ई and उ, they are alike in all Gds., except in M., which adds a final anunásika (as पाणीँ water, अँसूँ tear) and treats them as neuters, while the other Gds., having dropped the original anunásika, treat them as masculines.

## b) CHANGES OF MEDIAL SOUNDS.

### a) SINGLE VOWELS.

55. अ becomes इ or ई; rarely; thus E. H. पिंत्तर cage, A. Mg. पंत्तलअं (cf. Spt. 225), Skr. पंत्तकम् (also पिंत्तकम्? M. W. 572, 3); E. H. किरकिर splashing, Skr. कर्करम्; E. H. सुमिरन् memory, A. Mg.

सुमलपां (cf. H. C. 4, 426), Skr. स्वप्णम्; E. H. पिचोतरसै *one hundred and five*, A. Mg. पंचुन्नलसयं (cf. Wb. Bh. 427), Skr. पंचोन्नज्ज्ञतम्; E. H. चिरई *sparrow*, Pr. चउइया (cf. H. C. 4, 445?), Skr. चटकिता; E. H. खियावै *he feeds*, Pr. खयावई, Skr. खादयति (\*खदापयति); E. H. क्षिन् *moment*, Pr. क्षणो (H. C. 2. 20), Skr. क्षणः; E. H. फिटङ्करी *alum*, Mg. \*फट्टिक्कालिमा (or \*फिट्टिक्कालिमा cf. H. C. 4, 177), Skr. रफटिकाजिका; E. H. निनानन्नं *ninety nine*, Pr. \*नवापावुई, Skr. नवनवतिः (see § 397); E. H. क्षियालिस् *forty six* for O. क्षयालिस् (see § 152). Especially before ई; as E. H. इहन्नरू *seventy six*, Mg. इहन्नलि (cf. Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. षट्सप्ततिः; E. H. क्षिलोतरसै *one hundred and six*, A. Mg. क्षलुन्नलसयं (cf. Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. षडुन्नज्ज्ञतम्; E. H. लिहल् *taken*, Mg. \*लहिदे<sup>1</sup>), Skr. लब्धः (\*लभितः); E. H. दिहल् *given*, Skr. दत्तः; E. H. लिहिस् *thou tookst*, O. H. लिहेस्, Ap. Pr. \*लहिञ्सि, Skr. लब्धोऽसि (\*लभितोऽसि); E. H. लिहिन् *they took*, O. H. लिहेन्, Ap. Pr. \*लहिञ्सिहिं, Pr. \*लहिञ्सि, Skr. लब्धाः सन्ति (in active sense); E. H. दिहिस् *thou gavest*, दिहिन् *they gave*; E. H. किहिस् *thou didst*, O. H. किहेस् for \*करेस्, Ap. \*करिञ्सि, Skr. कृतोऽसि<sup>2</sup>); E. H. किहिन् *they did*. Again ई in तीसो *flux*, Skr. अतसी (cf. § 172).

Note: W. H. गिने *he counts*, Pr. गणइ (H. C. 4, 358), Skr. गणयति; W. H. क्षिमा *forgiveness*, Skr. क्षमा; W. H. पिह्लौ or पह्लौ, Ap. Pr. पच्छिल्लउ (Skr. पश्चकः); but E. H. गनै, क्षमा and पाहिल्ल or पह्लिला.

56. च becomes उ or ऊ; very rarely; as E. H. पुञ्चाल् *straw*, Skr. पलाली; E. H. मूह् (also मोह्, see § 57) *mustache*, Pr. मंसू (H. C. 2, 86 or \*मंहू? cf. H. C. 1, 265), Skr. श्मश्रु; E. H. खुन्नली *itch*, Ap. Pr. \*खन्नुडिञ्च (Skr. खन्नूः).

Note: W. H. उंगली *finger*, Pr. अंगुलिमा (cf. H. C. 4, 333), Skr. अङ्गुलिका; O. H. सुगन् *bird* (Chand), Ap. Pr. सगुणु, Skr. शकुनः; but E. H. अंगुरी, सगुन्.

1) cf. Spt. 146 लहिउपा = Skr. \*लभित्वा or लब्ध्वा; and P. past part. लइमा.

2) Regarding the forms लिहल्, लिहिस्, लिहिन्, किहिस्, etc. see §§ 307. 501. 503.

57. *अ* becomes *ए*, *ऐ*, *ओ* or *ए*, *ऐ*, *ओ*; rarely; E. H. मेहर (or मेहरी or मेहरारू) *woman*, Pr. महिला (Spt. 48), Skr. महिला; E. H. केवार (or केवारा) *door*, Pr. कवाडो, Skr. कपाटः; E. H. चोच्च *beak*, Pr. \*चच्च, Skr. चच्चुः; E. H. मोच्छ *mustache* (see § 56), Pr. मंस् (H. C. 2, 86), Skr. प्रमस्; E. H. सेध *hole* (in a wall), Pr. संधी (cf. H. C. 4, 430), Skr. सन्धिः; and others see § 148.

58. *इ* becomes *अ*; rarely; E. H. ऐतना *this much*, Mg. एन्निलए (cf. H. C. 2, 157), Skr. इयतकः, cf. S. एतिरो, G. एटलो; E. H. तेतना *so much*, Mg. तेन्निलए, Skr. तावतिकः; E. H. जेतना *how much soever*, Mg. जेन्निलए, Skr. यावतिकः; E. H. केतना, Mg. केन्निलए, Skr. कियतिकः; E. H. लंगोट *waistcloth*, Mg. लिंगवट्टे, Skr. लिङ्गपट्टः; E. H. धरती *earth*, Mg. धल्लिन्ना, Skr. धग्जिका; E. H. पोरसा *fathom*, A. Mg. पडलिसअं (cf. H. C. 1, 111. 4, 287), Skr. पौरुषकम्; and optionally E. H. परलै or परलै *he examines*, Mg. पलिकखइ, Skr. पजीक्षते; E. H. °अल् or °इल् *suffix of past part.*, Mg. इदे, Skr. इतः; e. g., E. H. पढल् or पढिल् *read*, Mg. पढिदे, Skr. पठितः; E. H. °अब् or °इब् *suffix of infinit.*, Ap. इव्वं (K. I. 50. Ls. 468), Skr. इतव्यम्; e. g., E. H. पढब् or पढिब् *to read*, Ap. पढिब्बं, Skr. पठितव्यम्.

*Note:* Also W. H. गहर *deep*, Pr. गहिरं (H. C. 1, 101), Skr. गभीरस्; W. H. बहर *dumb*, Pr. बहिरो (H. C. 1, 187), Skr. बधिरः; W. H. कलेस् *trouble*, Pr. किलेसो (H. C. 2, 106), Skr. क्लेशः; W. H. हरस् *joy*, Pr. हरिसो (H. C. 2, 105), Skr. हर्षः; W. H. बरस् *rain, year*, Pr. वरिस्, Skr. वर्षम्; W. H. करस् *touch*, Pr. करिसो (cf. H. C. 4, 182), Skr. स्पर्शः. But E. H. गहिर, बहिर, किलेस्, हरिस्, वरिस्, करिस्. The Pr. form एन्निलं or (in some MSS.) एन्निल्लं is probably a curtailment of एन्निअलं, composed of एन्निअ and pleon. suff. ल (or ल्ल), and curtailed just as Ap. इव्वं from Mh.-Sr. इअव्वं, e. g., Ap. पढिब्बं for Sr. पढिअव्वं.

59. *इ* or *ई* becomes *उ* or *ऊ*; very rarely and optionally; E. H. पहर or पहरी or पहरा *watchman*, Mg. पहली, Skr. प्रहरी; E. H. बुंदी or बिंदी or बुंदा or बूंद *drop*, Pr. बिंदू (cf. H. C. 1, 34), Skr. बिन्दुः.

*Note:* Compare Pr. पवासू (H. C. 1, 44) for Skr. प्रवासो *sojourner*.

60. *उ* becomes *अ*; rarely; thus E. H. आपन् or आपुन् *own*, Pr. अपुल्लं (H. C. 2, 163), Skr. आत्मीयम् (or आत्मभवम्), cf. M. आपला,

G. श्रापयो; E. H. पतोह् *son's wife*, Pr. पुत्रवहू, Skr. पुत्रवधू; E. H. उडगन् *stars*, Mg. उडगपो (cf. H. C. 1, 202), Skr. उडगपा; E. H. कुरकी *a kind of medicine*, Pr. \*कटुकिंश, Skr. कटुकिका; E. H. त्रया *troop*, Pr. \*त्रुत्यश्च, Skr. वृथकम्; E. H. सामहू or समहू *in front of*, Ap. सम्मुहह, Skr. सम्मुखे (H. H. साम्हने); optionally कपूत् or कुपूत् *bad son*, Mg. \*कुपुत्र, Skr. कुपुत्र; also E. H. बूद or बुंदा *drop*, Mg. विंदुर, Skr. विन्दुका.

*Note:* Also W. H. उंगली *finger*, Pr. अंगुलिश्चा, Skr. अंगुलिका; W. H. बिजली, Pr. विजुलिश्चा (Vr. 4, 26), Skr. विजुत्; W. H. कूकर *dog*, Pr. कुकुरा, Skr. कुकुरा; W. H. जौबन् *roseapple tree*, Pr. जंबुलो, Skr. जम्बुल; W. H. समके *he understands*, Pr. संवुत्कइ, Skr. सम्बुध्यते; Mw. कण or कुण *who* (see § 438, 2); but E. H. अंगुरी, बिजुरी, कुकुर, जामुन्, समुके, कौन्. As regards E. H. आपन् *own*, the change of उ to अ, and ल् to न् appears already in Pr. अप्पायं (H. C. 2, 153. 4, 350) = E. H. अपना, see § 111.

61. उ and ऊ become respectively इ and ई; very rarely; as E. H. तनिक् *small*, Pr. तणुक्के, Skr. तनुक; फिन् or फुन् or पुन् *again*, Pr. पुणो or पुणु (H. C. 4, 343), Skr. पुनर; E. H. चाई (fem.) *wind*, Pr. वाउ (masc.), Skr. वायुः (or वातिः masc.); बुंदो (fem.) *drop*, Pr. विंदू (masc.), Skr. विन्दुः.

62. उ becomes ए; very rarely; as फेकरा *lungs*, Skr. फुफुसः.

63. ऋ becomes इ; very rarely; thus E. H. किसान् *husband-man*, A. Mg. \*किसापो, Skr. कृषापा; E. H. गोध् *vulture*, Mg. गिडे (Md. 1, 31), Skr. गृध्र; E. H. माई *mother*, Mg. माइश्चा (Wb. Bh. 178. cf. H. C. 1, 135), Skr. मातृका; E. H. भाई *brother*, Mg. \*भाइए, Skr. भ्रातृक; E. H. भतीजा *brother's son*, Mg. \*भन्निजए, Skr. भ्रातृजकः.

*Note:* None of these words are mentioned in the exceptional lists of H. C. I, 128—144. T. V. 1, 275—291. Vr. 1, 28—30, enjoining this change instead of the regular one of ऋ to अ (H. C. 1, 126. Vr. 1, 27), exc. माईणं gen. pl. for Skr. मातृषाम् (H. C. 1, 135); but Md. gives घिडो and Bh. माइय<sup>०</sup>; and it is plain from the general form of the words, that in all of them the change of ऋ to इ must have taken place in Pr. already. In H. C. 1, 128 we find किसिश्चो for कृषितः as an analogy for किसानो; and in 1, 137 नन्निश्चो and नन्नुश्चो for भ्रातृकः as an analogy for भाइश्चो and भाउश्चो (H. C.



1, 131) = भ्रातृकः; and in 1, 135 माइहं for मातृगृहं as an analogy for भ्रान्तो = भ्रातृः.

64. ओ becomes ए; very rarely; as गेहूँ or गोहूँ, Pr. गोहुमो, Skr. गोधुमः; but only W. and H. H.; the E. H. only गोहूँ.

65. Short vowels become long; very rarely; E. H. ढोला loose, A. Mg. सिढिलए (cf. Vr. 2, 28. H. C. 1, 215), Skr. सिथिलकः; E. H. पुर or पुर town, Pr. पुरं, Skr. पुरम्. Comp. H. C. 1, 113 मूसलं, E. H. मूसर for Skr. मुसलम्; especially in the verbal roots पी drink, सी sew, लू leak, छू touch, मृ die, बो sow, नो bow, भो roam; e. g., E. H. पीये, Pr. पिमर, Skr. पिवति; E. H. चूरे, Pr. चुमर (H. C. 2, 77), Skr. श्रोतति.

Note: This is a very common change in M., made for the purpose of compensating the shortening of the ultimate; as M. हत्तीण *she-elephant* for Pr. हत्तिणी; and it may explain the origin of the modern long termin. आ, ई, उ (§§ 47—49); e. g., E. H. घोरी mare for घोरीञ = Pr. घोडिञ्चा, etc. It is, also, very common as the result of the elision of part of a conjunct, see § 147.

66. Long vowels become short; 1) regularly in the first part of a compound; thus E. H. पनसार watering place, Pr. पाणिशाला (or perhaps Ap. \*पाणिसाला, eliding श as in इव for इश्वं see § 58, note), Skr. पानीयशाला; E. H. पनचक्की watermill, Pr. पाणिशचक्किश, Skr. पानीयचक्रिका; E. H. फूलवारी flowergarden (for फूलवारी), Pr. \*फुल्लवाडिशा, Skr. फुल्लवाटिका; E. H. अथपका half-ripe (for आथपका), Mg. अथपकूर, Skr. अथपकुकः; E. H. नदीया name of a town in Bengal (for नादीया), Mg. नद्धीयए, Skr. नवद्वीपकः; E. H. गुमाखी honey-bee (for मैमाखी), Mg. महुमक्खिशा, Skr. मधुमल्लिका, etc. 2) rarely otherwise; thus E. H. दिया lamp (also दीया and दोवा); Mg. दीयए (or \*दीयए cf. H. C. 1, 101 पलिविचं = प्रदीपितं), Skr. दीपकः; also in semitats. as E. H. पलान् stone, Skr. पाषाणः; E. H. पताल hades, Skr. पातालम्; E. H. मुक्का swoon, Skr. मूर्च्छा; and see also § 25, as E. H. दुबरा weak from दूबर, Mg. दुबलए, Skr. दुर्बलकः, etc.; and § 146, as E. H. सब् all for \*साब्, Mg. सब्बे, Skr. सर्वः, etc.

67. Vowels are nasalized; often optionally before ह and स; as E. H. मुँह or मूँह or मुह mouth, face, Mg. मुह (H. C. 4, 300),

Skr. मुसम्; E. H. मेह् or मेह् *rain*, Mg. मेहे (cf. H. C. 1, 187), Skr. मेघः (lit. cloud, ?); E. H. सोह् or सोह् *oath* (fem.), A. Mg. सवहे (cf. H. C. 1, 179), Skr. शपथः; E. H. शौह् *shade*, Pr. झाही (H. C. 1, 249) or झोहा (Vr. 2, 18), Skr. शया; E. H. बाह् or बाह् (fem.) *arm*, Pr. बाह or बाहा (H. C. 4, 329), Skr. बाहा (fem., but बाहुः masc.); E. H. माह् or माही or माही *within*, Ap. मत्तहिं, Skr. मध्ये; E. H. खाँसो or खासो *cough*, Pr. खासिघा (cf. H. C. 1, 181), Skr. कासिका; E. H. हाँसो or हासो *laughter*, Pr. हासिघा (cf. H. C. 3, 105), Skr. हासिका; E. H. घाँस् or घास् (fem.) *grass*, A. Mg. घासे, Skr. घासः (masc.), etc.; rarely otherwise; as E. H. पाँव् or पाव् *foot*, Ap. पाउ, Sr. पावो, Skr. पादः; E. H. कूँवा or कूवा or कूँवा or कूवा *well*, Ap. कूवउ or कूवँउ (cf. H. C. 4, 397), Skr. कूपकः; sometimes ह् is elided after nasalization, as E. H. जाँय् or जाँय् *they go* (for जाँहि), Ap. जाहिं (cf. H. C. 4, 382), Pr. जंति (H. C. 4, 388), Skr. यान्ति.

*Note:* In Ap. Pr., too, व् is sometimes nasalized; as Ap. जिवँ or जेवँ *how* (see H. C. 4, 397), E. H. ज्यू; Ap. तिवँ or तेवँ *thus*, E. H. त्यू.

### β) 'VOWELS IN CONTACT.

68. The *hiatus* of vowels is treated in three ways: 1) the two contiguous vowels may be contracted or expanded partly by the ordinary Skr. rules of *sandhi*, partly by special Gd. rules given below §§ 71 ff. Or 2) they may be separated by an *euphonic* semivowel (§ 28), and the dissyllable, formed thereby, sometimes again contracted (§ 34). Or 3) they may be left in *hiatus*. On the whole, the third case is less usual, than the two others; even in E. H.; but certainly in Gd. generally; for sometimes, when E. H. preserves the *hiatus* of the Pr., other Gds. make *sandhi*; thus E. H. कइस्न् *of what kind*, but W. H. कैसा, M. कसा, for Ap. Pr. कइसो (H. C. 4, 403); or E. H. गइल् *he went*, but M. गेला, Mg. \*गमिदे; or E. H. खाइल् *eaten*, but M. खाला, Mg. खाइदे.

69. The semivowels, which may separate contiguous vowels,

are generally *य्* or *व्*, rarely *ह्*. About the use of *य्* and *व्*, see § 28. Examples of an inserted euphonic *ह्* are probably; E. H. *अटिहा* or *अटिया* *inferior*; E. H. *छूहे* or *छूवै* or *छूरै* *he touches*; E. H. *दिहल्* *given* for *दे + अल्* (probably by analogy to *लिहल्* *taken*, cf. § 307); E. H. *दिहिस्* *he gave* for *दि + इस्*, and *किहिस्* *he did* for *कि + इस्* (analogous to *लिहिस्* *he took*, see § 307); E. H. *पहिचान्* *cognizance* for *पञ्चान्* (Pr. परिचक्षणं, Skr. परिचयनम्?); E. H. *अनिहार* *a suffix of agency*, Ap. Pr. अविअअडो (see § 321); E. H. *अहा* *a pleon. suff.*, Mg. अअए, Skr. \*अककः (§ 208); E. H. *आहर्* or *आवर्* *a suffix of abstract nouns*, Pr. अअवट्टो (see § 288). There is, apparently, one instance of an euphonic *ल्*; viz. E. H. *दिलोतर्त्तो* or *दियोतर्त्तो* *one hundred and two* (made analogously to *तिलोतर्त्तो* 103, *चलोतर्त्तो* 104, *झिलोतर्त्तो* 106); see §§ 394. 397.

70. *Affinities.* All three semivowels *य्*, *व्* and *ह्* are already used in this way in Prākṛit. Thus *य्* is especially mentioned by H. C. 1, 180. T. V. 1, 3. 10. Ṣ. C. 1, 3. 5 and apparently both *य्* and *व्* by K. I. 1, 45. 46 (in Ls. Ap. 41). About *ह्* there is no rule; but it occurs apparently in the words *फलहो*, *निहो*, *चिहो*, *झाहा*, etc. (for स्फटिक, निकृ, चिकुर, झाय) mentioned in Vr. 2, 4. 18. H. C. 1, 186. 249. They not unfrequently occur in Pr. literature; especially in Mg.; thus in the Bhagavatī (see Wb. Bh. 397. 409. 411. 415); also in the Saptasatāka (see Wb. Spt. 28. 29. 45); see also Ps. X.

71. *Gd. sandhi* is made in two ways; 1) by contracting the two vowels, or 2) by expanding the second. By *expansion* I mean the change of *ए* or *इ* to *या*, and of *ओ* or *उ* to *वा*. Peculiar *Gd.* contractions are: *अ* or *आ* with *इ* to *ऐ*; *अ* or *आ* with *उ* to *औ*; *इ* with *अ* to *ऐ* or *ए* or *ई* or *इ*; *उ* with *अ* to *औ* or *ओ* or *उ*; *ए* with *अ* or *इ* or *उ* or *ए* to *ए*; *ओ* with *अ* to *ओ*. See in detail § 73, etc.

72. *Expansion-sandhi* is not unknown in Skr.; but it affects the first vowel; thus *ए*, *ऐ*, *ओ*, *औ* become respectively *अय्*, *आय्*, *अव्*, *आव्*, and in certain cases *इ* or *ई* and *उ* or *ऊ* become *इय्* and *उय्* (see M. M. 53); e. g., gen. sing. *रै-अस्* = *रायः*; *नो-अस्* =

नावः; धी-अस् = धियः; लू-अस् = लुवः. In Pr. there are traces of the Gd. expansion; thus ओ or उ to व in पवरो or पवरो or पउरो = Skr. प्रकोष्ट (Vr. 1, 40); आवत्त for \*आवत्त or आवत्त = Skr. आतोयम् (H. C. 1, 156); उ or उ to व in सोममल्ल for \*सोममल्ल for \*सोउमल्ल = Skr. सोकुमार्यम् (Vr. 1, 22); दुमल्ल for \*दुमल्ल or दुउल्ल = Skr. दुकूलम् (Vr. 1, 25); ओहलो for \*उवहलो (cf. H. C. 1, 173) for उउहलो = Skr. उदूखलः (H. C. 1, 171); सोमालो for \*सुवमालो for सुउमालो = Skr. सुकुमारः (H. C. 1, 171). I do not recollect any example of ए or इ to व. Also the contraction of इ + अ to ए and उ + अ to ओ is found in Skr.; as in gen. sg. अग्नि-अस = अग्नेः; मधु-अस् = मधोः. Here the change is commonly explained as a *guna* of the final इ or उ; but it may be, as in Pr. and Gd. it undoubtedly must be, explained as an expansion of इ and उ to अय् and अव् and contraction of the resultant dissyllable अय and अव to ए and ओ; as \*अमयः = अग्नेः; \*मधवः = मधोः. Instances of this change in Pr. are not uncommon; thus वेइल्ल for \*वयइल्ल for विअइल्ल = Skr. विचकिलम् (H. C. 1, 166); कषेरो for \*कषयारो for कषिआरो = Skr. कर्षिकारः (H. C. 1, 168); एपिहं for \*अयसिं for इअपिं = Skr. इदानीम् (H. C. 2, 134. Ls. 129); एत्तिअं for \*अयत्तिअं for \*इअत्तिअं = Skr. इयतिकम्; केत्तिअं for \*कयत्तिअं for \*किअत्तिअं = Skr. कियतिकम् (H. C. 2, 157); एदूहं for \*अयदूहं for \*इअदूहं = Skr. \*इयादृशम् (i. e. \*इयत् + दृश or इदृश; cf. Wb. Spt. 59); केदूहं for \*कयदूहं for \*किअदूहं = Skr. \*कियादृशम् (or कोदृश) H. C. 2, 157. Again ओ for \*अव for उअ = Skr. उत (H. C. 2, 172); cf. ओहरइ for अवहरइ = Skr. अवहरति (H. C. 1, 172); पोरो for \*पवरो for \*पूअरो = Skr. पूतः (H. C. 1, 170); पोय्फलं for \*पवय्फलं for \*पूअय्फलं = Skr. पूगफलम् (H. C. 1, 170); सोणारो for \*सवसारो for \*सुअसारो for सुवसारो = Skr. सुवर्णकारः (Spt. 194. H. C. 1, 26), etc. An instance of the change of अ + इ to ऐ in Pr. is ऐ for अइ = Skr. अयि (H. C. 1, 169); but the Pr. tendency is to produce and retain the hiatus अइ, अउ, आउ, as दइओ = Skr. दैत्यः (H. C. 1, 151), पउरो = Skr. पौरः (H. C. 1, 162), पाउरणं = Skr. प्रावरणम् (H. C. 1, 175), etc. Somewhat analogous are in Skr. स्वरम् for स्वरम्, प्रौढः for प्रउढः, etc. (M. M. 19).

73. अ or आ with अ or आ becomes आ; as E. H. इहाँ here,

Ap. Pr. एहद्, Skr. ईदृषे (scl. स्थाने, see § 467); E. H. तोहार *yours* (W. H. तुम्हारौ), Ap. Mg. \*तुम्हल्लिए or \*तुम्हकल्लिए or तुम्हक्केले (cf. H. C. 2, 99. 147. 4, 422), Skr. युष्माकम्; E. H. खात् *eating*, Mg. खांते, Skr. खादन्; E. H. सडौध् (fem.) *bad odour*, Pr. \*सुडिच्चंधो, Skr. \*स्रद्धितगन्धिः (cf. H. C. 4, 219); E. H. राउत् *name of a caste*, Mg. \*लाञ्छउत्ते, Skr. जातदूतः; E. H. लोहार *blacksmith*, Mg. लोह्माले, Skr. लौहकारः; E. H. चमार *leather-worker, shoemaker*, Mg. चम्ममाले, Skr. चर्मकाजः; E. H. परिवा *first day of a lunar fortnight*, Mg. पडिवा (Vr. 4, 7), Skr. प्रतिपत्.

*Exception.* Sometimes व् is inserted; as in the nominal long forms, e. g., रमन्वा *Rāma* for Mg. लामन्नाह, Skr. रामकस्य (see § 369, 2); sometimes य्, as in रैनू or रयन् *night*, Mg. लच्चणी, Skr. जतनी.

74. इ or ई with इ or ई becomes ई; as E. H. पो or पीई *he will drink*, Pr. पिइहिइ, Skr. पास्यति (\*पिबिष्यति), W. H. पीहै = Pr. \*पिइहइ; E. H. पीबो *I shall drink*, Ap. Pr. पिइवुउं, Pr. पिइव्वुम्हि, Skr. पातव्य° (\*पिबितव्य°), see § 309.

75. उ or ऊ with उ or ऊ becomes ऊ; as E. H. दूना *twofold*, Mg. दुउणए (cf. H. C. 1, 94), Skr. द्विगुणकः.

76. *Affinities.* There are some examples of the preceding contractions in Pr.; as Ap. \*महारा (H. C. 4, 345) = \*मह्मरिओ or \*मह्मरिओ, Mh. म्मह्मरिओ (H. C. 2, 147), Skr. म्मस्माकम् (lit. \*मस्मकृतः), H. H. हमारा, E. H. हमारू, W. H. हमारो (Br.) or म्मारो (Mw.) *our*; Pr. खाइ or खाछइ (H. C. 4, 228), Skr. खादति, E. H. जाय् *he eats*; Pr. राउलं or राछउलं (Vr. 4, 1), Skr. रातकुलम्, E. H. राउरू, W. H. राउल् *a title of honor*; Pr. भापां or भाछपां, Skr. भातनम् (H. C. 1, 267) *vessel*; Pr. सोपारू° (Spt. 194) for सुवर्णकारू°, Skr. सुवर्णकारः, E. H. सोनारू *goldsmith*; Pr. कुम्मारो or कुम्माछारो (Vr. 1, 4), Skr. कुम्भकारः, E. H. कोहारू, W. H. कुम्हारू *potter*; Pr. पावाल्लिछा for पञ्चवाल्लिछा (Spt. 162), Skr. प्रपापालिका *guardian of a well*; again उञ्चासो for \*उञ्चासो for उव्वासो (H. C. 1, 173, see § 34), Skr. उपवासः, E. H. उपास् (perhaps a semi-tatsama) *fasting*, etc. See Wb. Spt. 32. But as a rule, Pr. prefers to preserve the hiatus; see Wb. Bh. 408. Skr. has similar laws, see M. M. 14. 52.

77. च with इ becomes ऐ, if antepenultimate, but ऐ or चय *aya*

or *ay*, if *penultimate*, optionally; as E. H. गयल् or गइल् or गैल् *gone*, Mg. गमिदे (see §§ 307. 109), Skr. गतः, W. H. गयौ, P. गइया, Ap. Pr. \*गमिच्चउ; E. H. भयल् or भइल् or भैल् *been*, Mg. \*भविदे (see § 307), Skr. भूतः, W. H. भयौ, P. होइया, Ap. Pr. भविच्चउ or हविच्चउ (cf. H. C. 4, 401); E. H. कय् or कै *having done* for कइ, W. H. करि, Ap. Pr. करि (H. C. 4, 357), Pr. करिच्च (H. C. 1, 27), Skr. कृत्वा; E. H. पइठै or पैठै *he enters*, Pr. पइठइ (cf. H. C. 4, 444), Skr. \*प्रविष्टति (see § 352); E. H. खाइलो or खैलो *I ate*, Mg. खाइदःमिहि, Skr. खादितोऽस्मि (see § 487); E. H. गइलो or गैलो *I went*, Mg. गमिदःमिहि, Skr. गतोऽस्मि; E. H. तइसन् or तैसन् *such*, Ap. Mg. तइसिल्ले (see § 111), A. Mg. तारिसे (H. C. 4, 287) or तादिसे (Ls. 115), Skr. तादृशः.

*Exception.* The termin. ऐ and ऐँ of the 3. pr. sg. and pl. pres. and of the gen.-affix कै are *always* thus contracted; e. g., E. H. चलै *he walks* (not चलइ or चलय्), Pr. चलइ, Skr. चलति; E. H. करै *they do*, Ap. करहिं (H. C. 4, 382), Pr. करंति, Skr. कुर्वन्ति; E. H. कै *of* (lit. *done by*) = O. H. करि, Ap. \*करिउ or \*करिच्चो or केरो (H. C. 4, 422), Skr. कृतः. In the oblique form of the singular and in *postpositional* locatives अइ becomes generally ए or ई; as E. H. भले obl. form of भला *good*, O. H. भलहि, Ap. Pr. भल्लहे, Skr. भद्रस्य (see § 365, 6. 367, 4)१. E. H. पाइँ or पाइँ or पाइँ or पाइँ *after*, G. पाइो, Ap. Pr. पच्छइ (H. C. 4, 334. 420; for पच्छहि, see § 367, 4) or पच्छहिं (§§ 367, 5. and 378), Skr. पश्चे; E. H. आगे *before*, Ap. Pr. आगइ (H. C. 4, 391), Skr. अग्रे; E. H. माँहै or माँहो (cf. § 67) *within*, S. मंके, Ap. Pr. मत्कहिं or मत्कहि, Skr. मध्ये; E. H. पाहो *near, by side of*, Ap. पक्खहिं, Skr. पक्षे; E. H. लागे or लगे *with, for, till*, M. लागीँ, Ap. लगगहि, Skr. लग्ने.

78. अ *with* उ becomes औ, if *antepenultimate*, but औ or अव *ava* or अव *av*, if *penultimate*, optionally; thus E. H. चौय् or चंवय् or चउय् *fourth*, Mg. चउत्ये (Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. चतुर्थः; E. H. चौया or चउया *fourth*, Mg. चउत्यए (cf. Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. चतुर्थकः; E. H. औध् or अवध् *the province of Oudh*, also अउधा (W. H. अउधा *semitats.*), Mg. \*अयुठा or \*अनुठा, Skr. अयोध्या; E. H. रौरा or रउरा *a honorific title, you* (cf. § 25), Mg. लाउलए (cf. Vr. 4, 1), Skr. राजकुलकः; E. H. ऐकलौता or ऐकलउता (or अकँ or एँटा) *only-born son*, Mg. एक्कलउत्तए

(cf. Wb. Bh. 439) or ०दृए (cf. H. C. 2, 165. Vr. 12, 5), Skr. एकलपुत्रकः; E. H. जेठोत् or जेठउत् son of husband's elder brother, Mg. जेठउत्ते (cf. Wb. Bh. 315), Skr. ज्येष्ठपुत्रः.

*Exception.* The termin. ओ or ओ of the 1<sup>st</sup> pr. sg. pres. is always thus contracted; e. g., E. H. करौ or करो I do, Ap. कर्उ (cf. H. C. 4, 385), Pr. कर्मि, Skr. करोमि; Ap. Pr. सउ hundred is in E. H. सो beside सो, सव्, सउ; Skr. शतम्. In the *postpositional* locatives अउ becomes ऊ; as E. H. पाछ् behind, Ap. Pr. पच्छहुं, Skr. पश्चे, etc.; see § 367, 5.

79. *Affinities.* In Pr. अइ and अउ generally remain in hiatus, but sometimes become ए and ओ; thus देव् and दइव् fate (H. C. 1, 153), Skr. देवम्, but E. H. दैव्; Ap. केहो of what kind for \*कइहो or \*कादिहो, Skr. कीदृशः (cf. Ls. 455); Pr. केलं for \*कइलं or कयलं (H. C. 1, 167), Skr. कदम्, also E. H. केरा plantain; again Pr. लोणं for \*लउणं or लवणं salt (H. C. 1, 171), Skr. लवणम्, also E. H. लोन् or नोन्; Pr. चोव्वारो or चउव्वारो shed, court (H. C. 1, 171), Skr. चतुर्वारः, but E. H. चोव्वार; Pr. चोत्यो or चउत्यो (H. C. 1, 171), but E. H. चौय्. Only in one exceptional case अइ becomes ऐ, viz. Pr. ऐ for \*अइ = Skr. अयि (H. C. 1, 169). These remarks refer to the Mh. & Sr. and Ap. (Sr.) Pr.; perhaps the Mg. even more strictly preserved the hiatus; for thus it may be explained why on the whole the E. and N. Gd. have ऐ and ओ, while the W. and S. Gd. have ए and ओ and occasionally even modify ए to आ (just as the Mg. nom. sing. term. ए; see §§ 47. 48), or exceptionally (shortened) to अ; thus E. H., B., O., also M. चौया, N. (also Br.) चौयो fourth, but G., S., Mw. चोयो; E. H., B., O., N., also M. चौदा or चौदह् fourteen, but Mw., G. चोद (or चौद), S. चोउह्; again E. H. गैल् gone, but M. गेला; E. H. कैल् done, but M. केला; E. H. भैल् been, but M. काला (for \*हैला, \*ह्याला); E. H. खैलो I ate, M. खालो; E. H. ऐलो I came, M. आलो; E. H. तैसन् such, M. तसा. The contraction of the Ap. Pr. loc. term. अहिं to ई is quite regular in M.; see Man. 28, 2. 3; as M. घरौ in a house, Ap. घरहिं (K. I. 12, 27. in Ls. 451. see § 367, 5), Skr. गृहे; M. पासौ by the side of, Ap. Pr. पासहिं (cf. H. C. 2, 92),

Skr. पात्रो; M. घाटी for (affix of dative), Ap. Pr. ऋहिं (cf. H. C. 2, 32), Skr. अर्त्ये; M. ठाई in (Man. 127), Ap. ठाणाहिं (cf. H. C. 4, 16), Skr. स्थाने, etc.

80. ई with इ or उ becomes ऐ or अय् and औ or अव् respectively; optionally; as E. H. कन्हई or कन्है or कन्हय् *kanhai* (krishna); E. H. घउउ or घउी or घउव् *pitcher*, redundant forms of कान् or कनहा (W. H. कान्ह) and घग, see § 356.

81. अ with ए, ओ, see § 97.

82. आ with इ or ई and with उ or ऊ remains in hiatus; thus E. H. खाइव् *we shall eat*, Ap. खाइव्वा (scl. उम्ह), Pr. खाइअव्वाऽम्हो, Skr. खादितव्याः स्मः (with active sense, see § 309); E. H. खाई *he will eat*, Pr. खाहिइ (H. C. 4, 228), Skr. खादिस्यति (W. H. खाई = Pr. \*खाइइ); E. H. माई *mother*, Mg. माइमा (see § 61), Skr. मातृका; E. H. बाई *wind* (see § 61); E. H. राउरू *you*, Mg. लाउले (cf. Vr. 4, 1), Skr. गजकुलः; E. H. नाउ *barber*, Mg. नाविए or पहाविए (cf. H. C. 1, 230), Skr. नापितः.

*Exception.* The suff. उ of the 2<sup>nd</sup> pr. sg. imper. combines with आ to ओ; as E. H. तौ *go thou*, Ap. ताउ (cf. H. C. 4, 487. Ls. 467), Skr. याहि; E. H. खौ *eat thou*, Ap. खाउ, Skr. खाद. A final इ or उ optionally becomes य् and व्; as E. H. खाय् or खाइ *having eaten*, Ap. खाइ (cf. H. C. 4, 439), Pr. खाइअ, Skr. खादित्वा; E. H. जाय् or जाइ *having gone*, Ap. जाइ, Pr. जाइअ, Skr. यात्वा; E. H. जाँय् or जाँई *they go*, Ap. जाहिं (cf. H. C. 4, 382), Pr. जांति, Skr. गान्ति; again E. H. घाव् or घाउ *wound*, Ap. घाउ (H. C. 4, 346), Pr. घाओ, Skr. घातः; E. H. पाव् or पाँव् or पाउ or पाँउ *foot*, Ap. पाउ, Skr. पादः; E. H. राव् or राउ *a title of nobility, prince*, Pr. राउ (as if Skr. राजः); E. H. खाव् *I eat*, Ap. खाउं (cf. H. C. 4, 385), Pr. खामि or खाममि, Skr. खादामि; sometimes also penultimate इ or उ; as E. H. खायल् or खाइल् *eaten*, Mg. खाइदे, Skr. खादितः; E. H. रावरू or राउरू *you* (see above).

83. इ with अ becomes ए; as E. H. डेरू or डेरू *one and a half*, for \*दिअरू, Mg. दिअदे (Wb. Bh. 190. 411, and § 416); sometimes optionally; as E. H. नियरू or नेरू *near*, Mg. निअउं, Skr. निकटम्; when final, ए is shortened to ऐ or इ, as E. H. करे or करि *having*



done, Mg. कलिञ्च (H. C. 4, 302), Skr. कृत्वा; E. H. चलयो, O. H. चलेउ, Ap. \*चलिञ्चउं (see § 505), Pr. चलिञ्चग्निह्, Skr. चलितोऽस्मि.

*Exception.* The nominal termin. इञ्च contracts to ई; as E. H. पानी water, Pr. पाणिञ्च; see § 53. 49. 50.

84. उ with ञ becomes ओ; as E. H. सोऽध्वा sweet scent, Mg. सुञ्धए (cf. Spt. 13), Skr. सुगन्धकः.

*Exception.* The nominal termin. उञ्च contracts to उ; as E. H. आँसू tear, Pr. अंसुञ्च; see § 53. 49. 50.

85. *Affinities.* Both the above contractions are not uncommon in Pr.; thus Pr. लेङ् he takes for \*लिहङ् or लहङ् (H. C. 4, 335), Skr. लभते, E. H. ले (cf. E. H. past part. लिह्ल); Mg. ओत्काए (cf. H. C. 1, 173) magician for \*उञ्चत्काए or उवत्काए, Skr. उपाध्यायः, E. H. ओका; Mg. होते for \*हुञ्चते or हुवते (cf. H. C. 3, 180), Skr. भवन्, E. H. होत्, etc. (see § 72). They are common alike to all Gds.

86. इ or उ with ञ become इया and उवा; optionally; the insertion of य् is usual, that of व् unusual; thus E. H. हिया or हिञ्चा, heart, Pr. हिमञ्च, Skr. हृदयम्; E. H. बियाह् marriage. Mg. विञ्चाहे, Skr. विवाहः; E. H. पियास् thirst, Pr. पिञ्चास्ता (cf. H. C. 4, 434) or पिवास्ता (Wb. Bh. 274), Skr. पिपसा; E. H. पुञ्चाल् or (rarely) पुवाल straw, Pr. \*पलाली, Skr. पलाली; and regularly in the nominal long forms, as घोऱिया or (rarely) घोऱिञ्चा mare; जोह्वा or (less usually) जोह्वा wife, see §§ 195. 199.

*Exception.* In the nominal short forms, इञ्चा and उञ्चा are always contracted to ई and उ respectively; see § 51.

87. इ with उ or उ becomes इयु and इयू; optionally; the hiatus is more usual; as E. H. सिउ or सियु Siva, Ap. सिउ, Pr. सिञ्चो, Skr. शिवः; E. H. पिउ or पियू sweetheart, Ap. पिञ्चउ, Pr. पिञ्चो, Skr. प्रियकः.

88. उ with इ or ई remains in hiatus; as E. H. सुइया needle, Pr. सुइञ्चा, Skr. सूचिका; E. H. सुई parrot, Pr. सुइञ्चा, Skr. शुकिका.

89. इ or उ with ए or ओ; see § 98.

90. ई or उ with ञ; see § 97.

91. ई with any other vowel inserts य्; as E. H. धीया daughter,

Pr. धीष्ठा (Vr. 4, 33); Skr. धीदा or दुहिता; E. H. सोया *Sitā*, Pr. सोष्ठा, Skr. सौता (semitats.); E. H. पीयु *drink thou*, Ap. पिउ (see § 65), Pr. पिव, Skr. पिब; E. H. पीयै *he drinks*, Pr. पिबइ (H. C. 4, 10), Skr. पिबति; E. H. पीयो or पीयो *I drink*, Ap. पिबउं (cf. H. C. 4, 385), Pr. पिबमि, Skr. पिबामि.

92. उ with ऋ, इ and ई remains in hiatus; as E. H. धूष्ठा *smoke*, Ap. धूँउ (cf. H. C. 4, 397), Pr. धूमश्चो, Skr. धूमकः; E. H. चूइहै *they will leak*, Ap. चूइहिं (cf. § 65), Pr. चूइहंति, Skr. श्रोतिष्यन्ति; E. H. भूँ *earth*, Ap. भूँविष्ठा (cf. H. C. 4, 397), Pr. भूमिष्ठा, Skr. भूमिका; E. H. सूई *needle*, Pr. सूइष्ठा, Skr. सूचिका.

93. उ with ए, ऐ, ओ and औ becomes उवे, उवै, उवो, उवो; optionally; the hiatus is more usual; as E. H. चूरे or चूवै *it leaks* (W. H. चूर or चूवे), Pr. चुइइ (H. C. 2, 77), Skr. श्रोतति; E. H. चूओ or चूओ or चूवो or चूवो *I leak*, Ap. चुइउं, Pr. चुइमि, Skr. श्रोतामि.

94. ए or ओ with ऋ, इ and उ; see § 97. 98.

95. ए or ओ with a long vowel remain in hiatus; less usually व् is inserted after ओ; as E. H. लेई *he will take*, Pr. लहिहिइ, Skr. लप्स्यते (\*लभिष्यति); E. H. होई *he will be*, Pr. होही (H. C. 2, 180) or होहिइ (H. C. 4, 388), Skr. भविष्यति; E. H. बोऐ or बोवै *he sows*, Pr. ववइ, Skr. वपति; E. H. बोओ or बोओ or बोवो or बोवो *I sow*, Ap. ववउं, Pr. ववमि, Skr. वपामि.

96. ऐ or औ with any vowel insert व् and व्; optionally; the insertion of व् is usual, but not that of व्; as E. H. भैयन् or भइयन् कै (see § 77) of brothers, Pr. भाइष्ठापा, Skr. भ्रातृकापाम्; E. H. भैया or भइया brother, Mg. भाइष्ठाह, Skr. भ्रातृकस्य (see § 369, 2); E. H. नौअन् or नउअन् कै (see § 78) of barbers, Pr. नाविष्ठापा, Skr. नापितानाम्; E. H. नौष्ठा or नौवा or नउष्ठा or नउवा barber, Mg. नाविष्ठाह, Skr. नापितस्य; E. H. नोई *he will bow*, Pr. नविहिइ or नमिहिइ (cf. H. C. 4, 158), Skr. नमिष्यति; E. H. नौओ *I bow*, Ap. नवउं, Pr. नवमि, Skr. नमामि; E. H. नौऐ or नौवै *they bow*, Ap. नवहिं (H. C. 4, 367), Pr. नवंति, Skr. नमन्ति.

97. अ before or after a long vowel is often elided; before; E. H. सुभार *cook*, A. Mg. सूअबाले, Skr. सूपाकाः; E. H. फुलेल् *scented oil*, Pr. फुल्लएल्ल, Skr. फुल्लतैलम्; after; E. H. सीर or सीयर *cold, damp*, Pr. सीयल्ल (cf. H. C. 4, 343. Spt. 53), Skr. शीतलम्; E. H. पीर or

पीयू *yellow*, Pr. पीयलं (H. C. 1, 213), Skr. पीतलम्; E. H. चू or सू *hog*, A. Mg. सूखले, Skr. शूकरः; E. H. थो or थोरा *little* (W. H. थोडा), Pr. थोखंड or थोखंडखं (cf. H. C. 2, 125), Skr. स्तोकम् or स्तोककम्. But never in conjugation; e. g., E. H. पीयत् *drinking*, Mg. पिथते, Skr. पिबन्; E. H. खोखत् *sowing*, Mg. खवंते, Skr. ववन्.

*Note:* पीयत्, खोखत्, etc. are not real exceptions; for their ई, ओ, etc. are merely subsequent Gd. lengthenings (cf. § 65); nor होत् *being*, देत् *giving*, लेत् *taking*, for these are not contractions of हो-खत्, etc., but of Mg. Pr. हुवंते, लहंते, देंते (cf. H. C. 4, 307).

98. इ or ए and उ or ओ after a vowel often become य *ya* or यू *y* and व *va* or वू *v* respectively; thus E. H. गयल् or गइल् *gone* (see § 77); E. H. धय् *having put* for धइ, Ap. धरि, Pr. धरिश्च, Skr. धृत्वा; E. H. खायल् or खाइल् *caten* (§ 82. exc.); E. H. पाय् *having found* for पाइ, Ap. पावि, Pr. पाविश्च, Skr. प्राप्य; E. H. चूय् *having leaked* for चूइ or चूऐ, Pr. चुइश्च, Skr. श्रुत्वा; E. H. होय् *he is*, Pr. होइ (H. C. 1, 9) or हवइ (H. C. 4, 60), Skr. भवति; E. H. होय् *having been* for होइ or होऐ, Pr. हविश्च (H. C. 4, 271), Skr. भूत्वा; E. H. कोयर् or कोइर् *cuckoo* (W. H. कोइल्), Mg. कोइले, Skr. कोकिलः; E. H. नारियर् *cocoanut* (W. H. नारियल्), Mg. नालिएले, Skr. नाजिकेलः; O. H. आयसु *order* (in Tulsīdās), Ap. आएसु, Pr. आएसो, Skr. आदेशः; E. H. चवय् or चउय् *fourth* (see § 78); E. H. घाव् or घाउ *wound* (see § 82. exc.); E. H. जाँव् *I go*, Ap. जाउं, Pr. जामि (H. C. 2, 204), Skr. यामि.

*Exception.* The suff. इ of 3<sup>d</sup> pers. and उ of 2<sup>nd</sup> pr. sg. pres. and imper. is always dropped after the roots ले, दे; thus ले *he takes*, Pr. लेइ (H. C. 4, 238, see § 85); E. H. दे *he gives*, Pr. देइ (H. C. 4, 238), Skr. ददाति; E. H. दे *take thou*, Ap. देउ, Skr. देहि. Again the nominal term. Mg. इए and उए (or Sr. इओ, उओ) are contracted to ई and ऊ; see § 49; the expansion of final ए (or ओ) to य or व would naturally tend to lengthen the preceding इ and उ; and the resultant य after ई and ऊ, would drop off, by § 97; e. g., नेल्लिए, नेल्लिय or नेल्लिश्च, नेल्ली *oilman*.

## γ) SINGLE CONSONANTS.

99. Medial single consonants in E. H are of two kinds, *original* and *resultant*. The former are those which have passed as such into E. H. either from the (A. Mg.) Pr.; as in the tadbh. E. H. सगल् *whole*, A. Mg. सगले, Skr. सकलः; E. H. पर्विवा *first day of a lunar fortnight*, Pr. पडिविवा, Skr. प्रतिपत्; or from the Skr.; as in the tats. E. H. राजा *king*, Skr. राजा, or in the semitats. E. H. कृपा *mercy*, Skr. कृपा. The latter are those which have arisen either from the *simplification* (§ 143) of a conjunct consonant by eliding one, as in the tadbh. E. H. पाती *letter*, Pr. पत्रिवा, Skr. पत्रिका; E. H. माया *head*, Mg. मयए, Skr. मस्तकः, or in the semitats. E. H. पृथो, Skr. पृथो; E. H. अयुधा, Skr. अयोध्या; or from the *dissolution* (§ 138) of a conjunct by inserting a vowel; as in the tadbh. भगत् *devoted*, Ap. \*भक्तु, Skr. भक्तः, or in the semitats. जतन् *effort*, Skr. यत्. Tatsama single consonants, whether original or resultant, may, of course (as in Skr.), be of any kind, whether surd or sonant, aspirate or unaspirate; they never suffer any further change in E. H.; for some doubtful exceptions see §§ 102. 129. Tadbhava *resultant* single consonants, too, as may be seen from the examples in §§ 138, 143, may be of any kind; but the tadbh. *original* can only be sonants, never surds, because already in Pr. every original single surd cons. has been made sonant, if it be not wholly elided (cf. § 101). Both tadbhava classes, the resultant and the original, are liable to further changes in E. H. These may be of five kinds: 1) sonant consonants proper (i. e. cerebrals and dentals) are *softened* to semivowels (इ or र or ल and ऋ or ॠ or ए) cf. §§ 102—115; 2) aspirate consonants proper (except palatals and cerebrals) may be *reduced* to the simple aspirate (ह), cf. §§ 116—120; 3) semivowels (viz. वृ and वृ) and the nasal (म्) may be *vocalized* (इ and उ), cf. §§ 121. 122; 4) semivowels (viz. वृ, लृ, रृ, हृ) and nasals (viz. म् and न्) and occasionally double consonants (viz. क्क, च्च, ज्ज, न्न, व्व, प्प) may be *elided*, cf. §§ 123—128 and 151—157; and 5) semi-

vowels (viz. *ग* and *ख*) may be hardened, cf. § 129. Besides, there are isolated instances of changes of a miscellaneous kind. See in detail § 97, etc.

100. *Affinities*. All these five kinds of changes exist in Pr. already; but modified partly in character, partly in frequency. Thus in Pr. they affect as a rule (exceptions see § 116, note. § 145, exc. 2. and § 142) only *original* single consonants; in E. H. also *resultant* ones. Again 1) in Pr. surds are softened to sonants, in E. H. sonants to semivowels; e. g., *orig.*, Skr. कपटकः *cloths*, Mg. कपउए, E. H. कपरा; Skr. कथितः *said*, Mg. कथिदे, E. H. कहिल् or कहल्; *result.*, Skr. कपर्दिका, Mg. कवट्टिमा (cf. H. C. 2, 36), E. H. कौरी, W. H. कौडी. This rule refers only to cerebrals and dentals, which alone are capable of the change. But something analogous takes place in the case of the other classes; thus in Pr., labials (*प* or *ब*) are softened to *व* (H. C. 1, 231. 237); in E. H., *व* is vocalized; e. g., Skr. शपथः *oath*, A. Mg. सवधे or सवहे, E. H. सोह (for सउह); in Mg. Pr. for gutturals (*क*, *ग*) and palatals (*च*, *ज*) is substituted the euphonic *ग* (cf. Wb. Bh. 397); in E. H., *ग* is vocalized; e. g., Skr. नगम् *town*, Mg. नयलं, E. H. नैर्; Skr. जनी *night*, Mg. लयणी, E. H. रैनि. There are, however, traces of these changes in Pr. already, see §§ 35. 105. 109, note, etc. Then 2) in Pr., aspirate consonants are changed to sonant aspirates or reduced to the simple aspirate *ह* (see H. C. 4, 267. 302. Wb. Bh. 410); E. H. allows only the simple aspirate and occasionally extends the rule to resultant aspirates; e. g., Skr. कुपय *you make*, Mg. कलेध or कलेह, E. H. कर्ह; Skr. पक्षे, Ap. पक्खहिं, E. H. पाही (for पाक्षी). Traces of its extension to resultants, however, occur in Pr. also, see § 116, note and Wb. Bh. 410. Again 3) in Pr., *ग* and *ख* are sometimes vocalized (§ 35); in Ap. Pr. also *ग* (see § 122, note); but in E. H. the process is far more common; see examples above (No. 1). Next 4) in Pr., unaspirate consonants proper and *ग* and *ख* only are elided (Vr. 2, 2. H. C. 1, 177); E. H. extends the practice occasionally to *र*, *ल*, *ह*, *म*, *न*, though traces of the latter exist in Pr. also (see §§ 125, note. and 127, note).

Lastly 5) in Mh.-Sr., initial  $\text{य}$  is always hardened to  $\text{न}$ ; E. Gd. extends this practice to both initial  $\text{य}$  and  $\text{व}$  (see § 17), even when they become the initial of a syllable by the dissolution of a conjunct; c. g., Skr. कार्यम्, E. H. कार्त्त; Skr. पर्वतः, E. H. पर्वत्त. As to the Gds., they all agree generally in regard to the four last kinds of changes. With respect to the first, the E. and S. Gd. agree; but W. and N. Gd. do not change  $\text{द}$  to  $\text{ल}$ , but elide it; and have a tendency to preserve  $\text{र}$  or change it to  $\text{र}$  but not to  $\text{र}$ .

101. With regard to tadbhava original consonants proper, the following may be stated *generally*. In Mg., as in Pr. generally,  $\text{क्}$  and  $\text{ग}$  were usually elided; exceptionally  $\text{क्}$  was changed to  $\text{ग}$  (H. C. 1, 177. cf. 4, 396);  $\text{च}$  and  $\text{न}$  were, as a rule, elided (not mentioned at all in E. H. 4, 396; one exception in H. C. 1, 177);  $\text{ट}$  and  $\text{ड}$  were never elided, but  $\text{ट}$  softened to  $\text{ड}$  (H. C. 1, 195); in Mg. (but not in Pr. generally, cf. H. C. 1, 177)  $\text{न्}$  and  $\text{ड}$  were not elided, but  $\text{न्}$  softened to  $\text{ड}$  (H. C. 4, 260. 302. cf. 4, 396); in the later Mg., however, (as in Pr. generally, cf. H. C. 1, 177)  $\text{ड}$  must have been, as a rule, elided, except in the past part. pass. and in a few other words; in the Mg. of the Bhagavati,\* indeed, there appears to be no difference between Mg. and the ordinary Pr. (cf. Wb. Bh. 398. 428. 433); but E. H. (and E. Gd. generally) agree with the Pr. Gramm. statement, as above modified (see § 109). In Mg., as in Pr. generally,  $\text{प}$  and  $\text{ब}$  are softened to  $\text{व}$  (H. C. 1, 231. 237). Again in Mg., as in Pr. generally,  $\text{भ}$  and  $\text{म}$  were, as a rule, reduced to  $\text{व}$  (only a few exceptions in H. C. 1, 187. 188. cf. 4, 396);  $\text{ह}$  and  $\text{क}$  were always left unchanged (being not mentioned in H. C. 1, 187. 4, 396); and  $\text{र}$  was always changed to  $\text{र}$ , but  $\text{र}$  left unchanged (H. C. 1, 199). In Mg. (but not in Pr. generally H. C. 1, 187)  $\text{य}$  was changed to  $\text{य}$ , and  $\text{य}$  optionally reduced to  $\text{व}$  (H. C. 4, 267. 302. cf. 4, 396). In Pr. generally,  $\text{य}$  was always changed to  $\text{य}$ , and  $\text{य}$  optionally reduced to  $\text{व}$  (H. C. 1, 236. 187. cf. 4, 396). Thus it follows, that E. H. can possess only the following tadbh. orig. cons. proper,

to which it applies its own laws of phonetic change. Of un-aspirates: exceptionally ग्; regularly ड्; in the past part. and exceptionally in other words द्; regularly ब्. Of aspirates: exceptionally च्; regularly छ्, फ् and भ्; optionally ध् and म्. The unaspirates च् and न् are never present; in words like E. H. पचै *it rots*, खतै *it sounds* (§ 143) they are resultant, owing to a doubling (च्, न्) in Pr.

aa) Softening.

102. क् becomes ग्; rarely; 1) original; thus E. H. काग *crow*, Ap. कागु, Skr. काकः (but usually कवा, Mg. काए, or कौवा (for \*कववा), Mg. काअए); E. H. साग *vegetable*, Ap. सागं, Skr. शाकम्; E. H. सग *cart* (W. H. सगड्), A. Mg. साडं (cf. Wb. Bh. 248), Skr. शकटम्; E. H. सग *whole*, Ap. सगलं, Skr. सकलम्; E. H. सगु *bird*, Ap. सगुणु, Skr. शकुनः; E. H. ऐगारह *eleven*, Ap. \*एगारह (cf. H. C. 1, 177), Skr. एकादश; E. H. परगट् *manifest*, Skr. प्रकटम् (semitats.). — 2) resultant; thus E. H. बिगत् or बेगत् *individual*, Skr. व्यक्तः; E. H. मुगति *salvation*, Skr. मुक्तिः; E. H. भगत् *devotee*, Skr. भक्तः; E. H. भगति *faith*, Skr. भक्तिः; E. H. भगताई *devotedness* (cf. § 220) = Skr. भक्तता; E. H. रगत् *blood*, Skr. रक्तम्. Not always; as E. H. चकर *wheel*, Ap. Pr. चक्रं (cf. H. C. 4, 398), Skr. चक्रम्; E. H. खकरी *she-goat*, Ap. खक्रिया, Skr. खक्रिका.

*Note:* Probably in most or all of these words, the change took place in Pr. already; for it is expressly mentioned by Pr. Gramm. to occur in exceptional cases; see H. C. 1, 177. cf. 4, 396; as Pr. एगो, Skr. एकः, Pr. आगारो, Skr. आकारः, etc. (cf. Ls. 202); and in Gd., too, it occurs only as an exception. As a rule क् is elided in tadbh., both in Pr. and Gd.; and in tats. it remains unchanged.

103. ट् becomes ड् or ड्; very rarely; always resultant, as E. H. निवाडै or निवारै *he accomplishes* for \*निवाटै, Pr. निवुट्टै or निवुट्टेड्, Skr. निर्वस्यति; E. H. पेड् or पे *tree* for \*पेट् (see § 148), Pr. पट्टी, Skr. पत्रो (?).

104. ड् becomes ड् or ड्; as a rule; ड् is more usual; 1) original; thus E. H. कपरा or कपडा *cloths*, Mg. कपडए, Skr. कर्पटकः; E. H. केवारा or केवाडा *door* (§ 57), Mg. कवाडए, Skr. कपाटकः;

E. H. घरै or घरै *he fashions*, Pr. घड् (H. C. 1, 195), Skr. घटयति;  
 E. H. चिरई *bird* (cf. § 55), Pr. चड्छा, Skr. चटिका, H. H. चिडिया;  
 E. H. तोरै or तोरै *he breaks*, Pr. तोड् or तोडेड्, Skr. जोटयति; E. H.  
 नर or नर *a kind of reed*, Mg. नडे (cf. H. C. 1, 195), Skr. नटः;  
 E. H. परै or पडै *he falls*, Pr. पड् (Vr. 8, 51), Skr. पतति; E. H.  
 परिवा *first day of a lunar fortnight*, Pr. पडिवा (Vr. 4, 7), Skr.  
 प्रतिपत्; E. H. परोस् *neighbourhood* (cf. § 122), A. Mg. पडिवासे or  
 पडिवासे, Skr. प्रतिवासः or प्रतिवेशः; E. H. पापर or पाप *cake*, Mg.  
 पण्डे, Skr. पर्वटः; E. H. वारी or वाडी *garden*, Pr. वाडिवा, Skr.  
 वाटिका; E. H. भर or भर *large boat*, Mg. भडे (cf. H. C. 1, 195),  
 Skr. भटः (?); E. H. लरिका or लडिका *boy*, Mg. \*लडिक्क from Skr.  
 लट (cf. § 252. 334. 353), H. H. लडका; E. H. लरै or लरै *he*  
*quarrels (makes uproar)*, Mg. लड्, Skr. जटति (cf. § 110, exc.); E. H.  
 सरै or सडे *it rots*, Pr. सड् (Vr. 8, 51), Skr. श्रटति; generally in  
 the E. H. pleonastic suffixes ड or ड, उड or ड, आड or आड, आड  
 or आड, Ap. Mg. डे, उड, अडडे, अडड (cf. H. C. 4, 429. 430); thus  
 E. H. गोर or गोर *foot, leg*, Ap. गवडु (cf. H. C. 4, 397), Pr. गमडे,  
 Skr. गमः (lit. going); E. H. गोर or गोर *little* (cf. § 97), Ap. Mg.  
 गोडडे, Skr. स्तोत्रः; E. H. ठोर or ठोर *small piece*, Ap. Mg.  
 \*ठोडड (cf. H. C. 2, 125), Skr. श्लोकः; E. H. चमरा or चमरा *leather*,  
 Ap. Mg. चमडड, Skr. चर्म; E. H. बडर or बडर *calf*, Ap. वडडड,  
 Skr. वत्सः; E. H. सैकरा or सैकरा *a hundred*, Ap. Mg. सयडडड, Skr.  
 शतकम्; E. H. नेठरा *eldest*, Ap. Mg. नेडडड, Skr. ज्येष्ठः; E. H. पडिवार  
 or पडिवार or वारा *hindmost*, Ap. Mg. \*पडिवडडे or वडडड or  
 पडिवडडे or मडडड, Skr. पश्चिमकः; E. H. पडारी or पडारी (scl. रस्ती)  
*hind-rope* (for tying horses' hind-legs), Ap. पडडडड, Skr. पश्चक°;  
 E. H. अगारी or अगारी *fore-rope*, Ap. अगडडड, Skr. अग्रक°, etc. —  
 2) resultant; thus E. H. कौरी or कौरी *cowrie*, Pr. कवडिवा (H. C.  
 2, 36), Skr. कपर्दिका, etc.

105. ड becomes ल; only original; very rarely; thus the  
 E. H. pleonastic suffix ल or ला, Ap. Mg. डे or उड (cf. H. C. 4, 429),  
 e. g., E. H. पल or ला *ulterior*, Ap. Mg. पलडे or उड, Skr. पजः;  
 E. H. मोटल *fat*, Ap. Mg. \*मोटडे or \*मुटडे, Skr. मूर्धः; E. H. मडली  
*mother*, Ap. Mg. \*माडडिवा, Skr. मातृका, etc.; also otherwise, as



E. H. क्षिलोत्तरस्यै or °सो, Ap. Mg. \*इडुत्तरस्यं or \*इलुत्तरस्यं (cf. Wb. Bh. 426), Ap. Sr. \*इडुत्तरसड, Skr. इडुत्तरसतम्.

*Note:* This change is not uncommon in Pr., see Vr. 2, 23. H. C. 1, 202; in such cases E. H. optionally, but usually changes ल् to र्; as Skr. षोडश sixteen, A. Mg. सोलस (Wb. Bh. 426), E. H. सोरह् or सोलह्; Skr. तडाकः tank, Ap. तलाड (cf. H. C. 1, 202), E. H. तराड or तराव् or तलाव्; Skr. नडम् a kind of reed, Pr. नडं or नलं (H. C. 1, 202), E. H. नरू or नल् or नइ; Skr. नाडिका stalk, Pr. नाडिआ or नालिआ (H. C. 1, 202), E. H. नारी or नाली or नागे.

106. इ becomes न्; only original; very rarely; thus E. H. तवन् or तडन् or तोन् that (lit. of that kind), Ap. तेवडु (H. C. 4, 407) or \*तेवडो, Pr. तेदूहो (cf. H. C. 2, 157), Skr. तादृशः (see § 438, 2); E. H. त्रवन् or त्रडन् or त्रोन् which (lit. of which kind), Ap. तेवडु (H. C. 4, 407), Pr. तेदूहो, Skr. वादृशः; E. H. कवन् or कडन् or कौन् who (lit. of what kind), Ap. कवणु (H. C. 4, 395) or केवडु (H. C. 4, 408), Mg. केवन्नियं (Wb. Bh. 422), Pr. केदूहो, Skr. कीदृशः (see § 26, note); cf. also E. H. शुयग or शुयना mouth (of a horse, etc.) from शोष् mouth.

107. ल् becomes इ or र्; very rarely; always resultant; as E. H. स्रसठि or सडसठि or सतसठि sixty seven, Pr. सन्नसट्टी (cf. Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. सप्पषट्ठिः.

108. दू becomes र्; very rarely; always original; thus गगरी waterpot, Pr. गगरिआ (cf. Vr. 2, 13), Skr. गद्दिका; E. H. सन्नरू seventy, Pr. सन्नरी (H. C. 1, 210. Wb. Bh. 248) for \*सन्नदो, Skr. सप्पत्तिः; E. H. °रह ten, Pr. °रह (Vr. 2, 14) or °रस (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. दश; e. g., E. H. बारह twelve, Pr. बारह (H. C. 1, 219) or बारस (Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. द्वादश.

*Note:* This change, also, is old Pr.; I know no strictly modern example.

109. दू becomes ल्; only original; always in the E. H. suffix of past part. इल् or डल्, Mg. इदे (cf. H. C. 4, 260. 302. Vr. 11, 11), Skr. इतः; e. g., E. H. गइल् or गैल् or गयल् gone (see § 77); E. H. भइल् or भैल् or भयल् been (see § 77); E. H. डइल् or डैल् or डयल् put, Mg. डलिदे (cf. H. C. 1, 36. धरिओ Spt. 241), Skr. धृतः; E. H. कइल्

or कैल् or कयल् *done*; Mg. \*कलिदे, Skr. कृतः (see § 307); E. H. खाइल् or खायल् *eaten* (see § 82. exo.); E. H. पाइल् or पायल् *found* (cf. §§ 33. 123), Mg. पाविदे (cf. H. C. 4, 387. पाविश्), Skr. प्राप्; E. H. घाइल् or घायल् *come*, Mg. घम्विदे, Skr. घ्राप्; E. H. पडल् or पडिल् *read*, Mg. पढिदे, Skr. पठितः; E. H. चरल् or चरिल् *walked*, Mg. चलिदे, Skr. चलितः, etc.; rarely otherwise; e. g., E. H. सल् *hundred*, A. Mg. \*सद्, Skr. शतम्.

*Note:* This change is especially Mg., e. g., कले, गले or कदे, गदे (in Mfd. 12, 28. optional with कडे, गडे, Vr. 11, 15), Skr. कृतः, गतः; Mg. केलञ्च (Sak. 37, 13) for \*कलिञ्चञ्च, Skr. कृतकम्; A. Mg. ईलिणो for \*ईदिणो, Skr. ईदृणः (cf. Lss. 417. 423); rarely in Pr. generally, as Pr. पलित्तं (H. C. 1, 221), Skr. प्रदीपम्, E. H. पलीत् *a light, candle*; Pr. पलित्तं (H. C. 1, 212) for \*पलिट्, Skr. पलितम्, E. H. पलिल् or पलल् *mud*; Pr. अलसी (H. C. 1, 211) for \*अदसी, Skr. अतसी, E. H. अलसी *linseed*.

110. ल् becomes र्; as a rule; see §§ 16. 30; thus E. H. नर् *man*, Mg. नले (H. C. 4, 288), Skr. नजः; E. H. राय् *king*, Mg. लाया (H. C. 4, 302), Skr. राजा, etc.

*Exceptions.* E. H. लेनुरी *cord*, (Ap.) Mg. \*लनुडिआ, Skr. जञ्; E. H. लरै or लरै *he quarrels* (ऽ. ररे), Mg. लउड्, Skr. जटति (cf. लटति or लउति); but E. H. रारि or राडि *quarrel* (noisy contention), Mg. लाडो, Skr. जटिः; E. H. उलै or उरै *he throws*, Mg. \*उलेड् or दालेड्, Skr. दाजयति (also दालयति); E. H. भूलै or भूरै *he forgets*, Ap. Mg. \*भवलेड् or \*भमलेड्, Skr. भमजयति (?); E. H. गलियावै or गरियावै *he abuses* and गाली or गारी *abuse*, cf. § 142; E. H. निकालै or निकारै *he ejects*, cf. § 115, note; E. H. चलोत्सै *one hundred and four*, Mg. चुलुत्तरसयं (§ 397), Skr. चतुहत्तरशतम्; E. H. सम्हालै or सम्पालै *he supports*, cf. § 120; E. H. चालिस् *forty*, Mg. चन्नलीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. चत्वारिंशत्; E. H. उला *branch*, Mg. उलञ्चं (cf. H. C. 4, 445), Skr. दाजकम्.

111. ल् becomes न्; sometimes; in the E. H. pleonastic suffix न् or ना, Mg. लै or लए; e. g., E. H. नामुन् *roseapple-tree*, A. Mg. \*जम्मुले (see § 18) or जम्मुले, Skr. जम्बूलः; E. H. ऐतना *so many*, Mg. एतिलए (cf. H. C. 2, 157) or Ap. Mg. एतुलए (cf. H. C.

4, 408), Skr. इग्रतिकः; E. H. तेतना *so many*, Mg. तेन्निलए or तेन्नलए, Skr. तावतिकः; E. H. तेतना *as many*, Mg. तेन्निलए or तेन्नलए (H. C. 4, 407), Skr. यावतिकः; E. H. केतना *how many*, Mg. केन्निलए or केन्नलए, Skr. कियतिकः; E. H. आपन् or आपुन् or वृपना or अपुना *own*, Mg. अपुल्लं or अपुल्लं (cf. H. C. 2, 163), Skr. आत्तीयम् or यकम्; E. H. अइसन् or ऐसन् *of that kind*, Ap. Mg. \*अइसिल्ले (cf. H. C. 4, 403. 2, 164. Wb. Bh. 437) or \*अइसुल्ले (cf. H. C. 4, 429), Skr. ईदृशः; E. H. तइसन् or तैसन् *of that kind*, Ap. Mg. \*तइसिल्ले or \*तइसुल्ले, Skr. तादृशः; E. H. तइसन् or तैसन् *of whichever kind*, Ap. Mg. \*तइसिल्ले or \*तइसुल्ले, Skr. वादृशः; E. H. कइसन् or कैसन् *of what kind*, Ap. Mg. \*कइसिल्ले or \*कइसुल्ले, Skr. कोदृशः, see also § 31.

*Note:* There are a few optional examples of this change in Pr.; see H. C. 1, 256. 257; as पांगलं or लंगलं, Skr. लङ्गलम् *plough*.

112. पा becomes न्; as a rule; see § 13; thus E. H. पानी (or *theth* पाणी) *water*, Mg. पाणिञ्चं (H. C. 1, 101), Skr. पानीयम्, etc.

113. ह becomes ङ्; very rarely; only resultant; thus E. H. कोङ् *leprosy* for \*कोह्, Pr. कुहं (or कोहं cf. H. C. 1, 116 or कोहं?), Skr. कुहम्; E. H. रङ्ङ् *angry*, Mg. लुङ्ङ् (or लुङ्?), Skr. गुहः; E. H. अट्ठत्तिस् *thirty eight*, Mg. अट्ठत्तिस् (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. अट्ठत्तिशत्.

*Note:* This change is possibly Pr.; as the Skr. conjunct ह् has a tendency to change to ङ् in Pr.; see § 114.

114. ह becomes ङ् or ह्; as a rule; ङ् is more usual; thus 1) original; E. H. कमडा or कोडा *a kind of gourd*, Mg. कमहए (cf. H. C. 1, 199), Skr. कमठकः; E. H. मडा or मडा shed, Mg. महए (cf. H. C. 1, 199), Skr. मठकः; E. H. मडो *small temple*, Pr. मडिआ, Skr. मडिका; E. H. पढै *he reads*, Pr. पडइ, Skr. पठति; E. H. पीडा *stool*, Mg. पीहए, Skr. पीठकः. 2) resultant; E. H. काढै or काहै *he draws*, Pr. कडइ (H. C. 4, 187), Skr. कर्षति (lit. \*कृष्यति); E. H. बढै *he encloses*, Pr. वेडइ (Vr. 8, 40) or वेडेइ (H. C. 4, 51), Skr. वेष्टते or वेष्टयति; E. H. बढै *he grows*, Pr. वडइ (Vr. 8, 44), Skr. वर्धति; E. H. बडइ or बहइ or बरहइ (cf. § 138) *carpenter*, Mg. वडइए, Skr. वर्धकिकः; E. H. बूडा *old man*, Mg. बुडए (cf. H. C. 1, 131), Skr. वृढकः; E. H. बूडो *old women*, Pr. बुडिआ (cf. H. C. 1, 131), Skr. वृढिका; E. H. उङ् one or देङ् *one and a half*, Mg. दिवडे (Wb. Bh. 190), Skr. अर्द्धद्वितीयः

(see § 416); E. H. *अर्धार्ध* two and one half, Pr. *अर्धार्ध*, Skr. *अर्धतृतीया* (see § 416); E. H. *साढे* one half more, Pr. *सर्द्ध*, Skr. *सार्द्ध*.

115. *ह* becomes *ल्ह*; very rarely; only original; E. H. *कुलहारा* axe, Mg. *कुलहार* (cf. H. C. 1, 199), Skr. *कुलाजक*; E. H. *कुलहारी* small axe, Mg. *कुलालिआ*, Skr. *कुलाजिका*; E. H. *कोलहू* mill (for making sugar or oil), Mg. *कुढले*, Skr. *कुठज*: (a post round which the mill stone moves).

Note: E. H. *दुलहा* bridegroom, *दुलही* or *दुलहिन्* bride (spelled H. H. *दुल्हा*, *दुल्हिन्* see § 6, note) are Mg. *दुल्लहर*, *दुल्लहिआ* (cf. H. C. 4, 338. Ls. 227. 228), Skr. *दुर्लभक*, *दुर्लभिका* (lit. difficult to obtain, dear), not Skr. *उदोढा*, *उदूढा* (as Bs. I, 271. 245). And E. H. *निकालै* is Pr. *निक्कालइ* or *निक्कालेइ*, Skr. *निष्कालयति* (of R. कल्; perhaps caus. or denom. of कृ), not Pr. *निक्कडइ*, Skr. *निष्कर्षति* (as Bs. I, 354). As to *कोलहू*, the Mg. *कुढले* might be *कुदुले* in Ap. Mg. (cf. vulgar B. *कुढल्* axe for Mg. *कुढले*, see Bs. I, 270), and thence (eliding ल्) *कुदुर*, *कुदू* or *कोलहू* (cf. §§ 49. 125); there is Skr. *कुठारः*, Mg. *कुठालू* tree (post?), which might also produce *कोलहू*. An instance of this change in Pr. is *अँकोलू* for \**अँकोलहू* (H. C. 1, 200; cf. *पल्लडइ* and *पल्लह्यइ* H. C. 4, 200), Skr. *अङ्कोठ*.

#### bb) Reduction.

116. *ख* and *घ* become *ह*; generally when original; as E. H. *मुह* or *मुँह* mouth, Pr. *मुहँ* (H. C. 2, 164), Skr. *मुखम्*; E. H. *मेह* or *मेँह* rain, Mg. *मेहे* (cf. H. C. 1, 187), Skr. *मेघः*, etc.; sometimes when initial in a compound; as E. H. *पेहर* father's family, Pr. *पिउहर* (H. C. 1, 134) for \**पिउघर*, Skr. *पितृगृहम्*; E. H. *नैहर* wife's mother's family; E. H. *देहर* idol temple, Pr. \**देअघर*, Skr. *देवगृहम्*; 2) rarely when resultant; as E. H. *रहै* he lasts, stays for \**रखै*, Mg. *लखखइ*, Skr. *उच्यते* (pass.); E. H. *पाही* by the side of for \**पाखी*, see § 74. exc.; O. E. H. *काहूँ* or *काहूँ* by the side of for \**काखूँ* or \**काखूँ*, Ap. \**कखखहुँ*, Skr. *कले* (cf. § 378, 3).

. Exceptions. Sometimes *ख* remains unchanged; probably either to avoid confusion, as in E. H. *लिखल्* written, not \**लिहल्*, Mg. *लिहिदे* (cf. H. C. 1, 187 *लिहइ*), to distinguish from E. H. *लिहल्* taken for \**लहल्*, Mg. *लहिदे*; or to suit analogy, as in E. H.

सुख *pleasure* (Pr. सुहं H. C. 1, 187) like दुख *pain*, Pr. दुखं (H. C. 2, 72); but generally words with ख् are tats.; as E. H. सखी *friend*, etc.

*Note:* The change of original ख् and घ् to ह् is Pr. (H. C. 1, 187); there are also examples of ह् for resultant ख् and घ्; as Pr. दाहिणो or दक्षिणो (H. C. 2, 72), Skr. दक्षिणः, E. H. दाहिन् *right*, but दखिन् or दहिन् *south*; Pr. दुहं or दुखं (H. C. 2, 72), Skr. दुःखम्, E. H. only दुख *pain*; Pr. दीहो or दिग्घो (H. C. 2, 91), Skr. दीर्घः *long*, E. H. *deest*.

117. क् becomes ह्; *very rarely*; only resultant; E. H. माहीँ or माहीँ amidst for \*माकीँ, Ap. Pr. मक्कहिं, Skr. मध्ये.

*Note:* Probably ह् represents the Mg. semiconsonant ग् = न्, as in Pr. ङाहा for Skr. ङाया (Vr. 2, 18), see § 18.

118. ढ् becomes ह्; *very rarely*; only original; E. H. पहिल् or पहेल् *first*, Ap. Mg. \*पढ्ङ्ले, Mg. पढमिल्ले (Wb. Bh. 437), Skr. प्रथमः; E. H. पहार or पहाड़ *mountain-range*, Ap. Mg. \*पढिञ्चउडे, Skr. प्रथितकः (lit. *spread out*); E. H. पेहारा or पहाडा *the multiplication, table*, Ap. Mg. \*पढिञ्चउए, Skr. पथितकः (with pleon. उक, see § 217); the ङ् is absorbed just as in B., O., H. H. पढा *read*, Mg. पढिञ्चए, W. H. पढ्यो, Ap. पढिञ्चउ.

*Note:* The root पृष् or प्रृ shows this change in Pr. already; e. g., Pr. पुढवी or पुहवी or पुहुवी (H. C. 1, 216. 88. 131), Skr. पृथिवी or पृथी *earth*, O. H. पुहुमि; Pr. पिहं or पुहं beside पिथं or पुथं (H. C. 1, 188), Skr. पृथक्; Pr. पिहुलं, Skr. पृथुलम् *full* (Spt. 313). But perhaps there was an Ap. form पथ°. The only other instances of the change of ढ् to ह् which I know, are the Pr. पिहडो or पिहरो, Skr. पिठः *pot* (H. C. 1, 201) and the G. and S. कुहारो *axe*, Pr. कुहारो (H. C. 1, 199), see Bs. I, 270 and § 115. Perhaps also in Pr. काहावणो or कहावणो (H. C. 2, 71) for \*कडावणो, Skr. कार्षापणः or कर्षापणः; cf. Pr. कड्ड = Skr. कर्षति (H. C. 4, 187). All Gds. have पहेल्°, S. पेहेरो°, see § 401.

119. घ् becomes ह्; *always* when original; as E. H. कहै *he speaks*, Mg. कहेदि or कथेदि (H. C. 4, 267. 302), Skr. कथयति; E. H. साह *a title of merchants*, Pr. साह (H. C. 1, 187), Skr. साधुः; E. H.

बद्धि *deaf*, Mg. बहिले (cf. H. C. 1, 187), Skr. बधिः; E. H. दही *curds*, see § 53; also when initial in a compound; as E. H. गोहृ *lizard*, *aligator*, Pr. गोही, Skr. गोधिः; E. H. गोहूँ *wheat*, see § 64; 2) very rarely when resultant; as E. H. कौहार or कौहार *porter*, Mg. लंघनाले (cf. H. C. 2, 4 or \*कंधनाले, cf. H. C. 2, 5), Skr. लंघकाजः.

120. भू becomes ह्; always when original; as E. H. गुहै *he strings*, Pr. गुह् or गुभ् (H. C. 1, 236), Skr. गुफति; E. H. सौरी or सहरी *a kind of fish*, A. Mg. सहलिआ (cf. H. C. 1, 236), Skr. शफजिका; E. H. सोहै *it looks well*, Pr. सोह् (H. C. 1, 187), Skr. शोभते; E. H. गहिर *deep*, Mg. गहिले (cf. H. C. 1, 101), Skr. गभीजः; E. H. अहीर *herdsman*, Mg. आहीले, Skr. आभीजः; also when initial in a compound, as E. H. मुत्ताहल् *pearl*, Pr. मुत्ताहलं (H. C. 1, 236) for \*मुत्ताभलं, Skr. मुत्ताफलम्; E. H. कटहल् *jackfruit*, Mg. \*कंटअहले, Skr. कपटकफलः; E. H. सुहाम् *good fortune*, Pr. सुहमं (cf. H. C. 1, 160), Skr. सौभाग्यम्; 2) rarely when resultant; as E. H. कुँहार or कौहार *potter*, Mg. कुम्भाले or कुम्भनाले (cf. H. C. 1, 8), Skr. कुम्भकाजः; E. H. सम्हालै or सम्भालै *he supports*, Mg. सम्भालेइ, Skr. सम्भाजयति; E. H. सगा *full brother* for \*सगहा or \*सगभा, Mg. सगभए, Skr. सगर्भकः; also optionally, as E. H. जीह् or जीभ् *tongue*, Pr. जीहा or जिभा (H. C. 2, 57), Skr. जिह्वा.

*Note:* Words with original भू are tats. or semitats., as E. H. सुभाव् or सुभाउ *disposition*, Skr. सुभावः, Pr. सहावो (H. C. 1, 187).

cc) Vocalisation.

121. यू becomes इ and combines with the adjacent vowels; thus 1) य ya to इ, as E. H. बिगत् *individual*, Skr. व्यक्त्तः (semitats.); 2) अय aya to ऐ or ए, as E. H. सै or से *hundred*, A. Mg. सयं, Skr. शतम्; E. H. समै or समे *time*, A. Mg. समये, Skr. समयः; E. H. उदै or उदे *rising*, Skr. उदयः (semitats.); E. H. नैर् or नेर् *town*, Mg. नयलं (cf. H. C. 1, 180), Skr. नगम्; E. H. नैन् or नेन् *eye*, Mg. नयपां (H. C. 1, 180), Skr. नयनम्; E. H. रैन् or रेन् *night*, Mg. लयपी (cf. H. C. 4, 401), Skr. उज्जनी; E. H. वैँता *foot of a bed*, Mg. पायंतए (cf. H. C. 3, 134) or पयंतए, Skr. पादान्तकः or पदान्तकः; 3) इय iya to ए, as E. H. पहेँत् *backyard*, Ap. Mg. \*पच्छियंते or पच्छिमते, Skr. पश्चिमान्तः, etc.; cf. § 77.

122. *व्* becomes *उ* and combines with the adjacent vowels; thus 1) *व* *va* to *उ*, as E. H. सिउ or सिव *Siva*, A. Mg. सिवे, Skr. सिवः; E. H. देउ or देव *god*, Mg. देवे (cf. H. C. 1, 177), Skr. देवः; E. H. नेउ or नेव *foundation*, Mg. नेवे, Skr. नेमः; 2) *वि* *vi* to *उ*, as E. H. नीई *he will bow* for \*नउई, Pr. नविहिइ or नमिहिइ (cf. H. C. 4, 158), Skr. नमिष्यति; E. H. हौओ\* or हंओ\* *I am* for \*हउओ\*, Ap. हविओउ, Pr. हविओ म्हि, Skr. भूतोऽस्मि; E. H. नौआ or नउआ *barber*, see § 96; E. H. ज्ञनउ or \*ज्ञनोउ *sacrificial thread*, Pr. \*ज्ञनोश्चित्रं (see p. 23 and H. C. 1, 101), Skr. यज्ञोपवीतम्; 3) *अव* *ava* optionally to *ओ*; as E. H. और् or अउर् *and*, Mg. अवलं, Skr. अवयम्; E. H. कौन् or कउन् or कवन् *who*, see § 106; E. H. कौरी *a kind of shell* (see § 103); E. H. सौती *wife*, Pr. सवन्निआ (cf. Spt. 78), Skr. सपत्निका; E. H. भौर्ा *humble-bee*, Ap. भवैर्उ (cf. H. C. 4, 397), Skr. भ्रमृकः; E. H. पठौतो\* or पठउतो\* *if I send*, Ap. \*पठुवंतउ, Pr. पठुवंतऽम्हि or पठुवंतऽम्हि (cf. H. C. 4, 37), Skr. प्रस्थापयन्तस्मि; sometimes to *ओ*; as E. H. सोह् *oath*, see § 100; E. H. कोडा *a kind of gourd*, see § 114; sometimes to *उ*; as E. H. लून् or लोन् or नून् or नोन् (see § 31) *salt*, Pr. लोणं or लवणं, Skr. लवणम्; E. H. भूलै or भूरै *he forgets*, Ap. Mg. \*भवैलइ or \*भमलेइ, Skr. भ्रमयति; 4) *इव* *iva* to *ओ*; as E. H. बहिनोई, see § 49; or to *उ*, as E. H. पडूत् *back-yard*, Ap. पंच्छिवंतु, Skr. पश्चिमान्तः; E. H. अगूआ or अगुआ *leader, guide*, Ap. Mg. \*अगिवैअए, Skr. अग्रिमगकः; 5) *इवा* or *इवे* to *ओ*; as E. H. परोस् *neighbourhood*, see § 104; E. H. परोसै *he distributes*, A. Mg. पलिवेसइ, Skr. पजिवेयति; 6) *आव* *ava* optionally to *ओ*; as E. H. महौत् or महाउत् or महावत् *elephant-driver*, Ap. महावन्तु, Skr. महामात्रः, etc.; cf. § 34. 78.

*Note:* It will be seen from some of the above examples, that Skr. *प्* is in Pr. *व्* (H. C. 1, 231), in Gd. *उ*; and Skr. *म्* in Ap. Pr. *म्* or *वै* (H. C. 4, 397), in Gd. *उँ* or *उ*. Traces of these changes are found in Pr.; as Pr. लोणं or लवणं, Skr. लवणम् (Vr. 1, 7), E. H. लोन् *salt*; Pr. ओत्ताओ or उवत्ताओ, Skr. उपाध्यायः, E. H. ओका *magician*; Ap. पठउं (cf. H. C. 4, 385) for \*पठविं, Pr. पठमि or पठामि, Skr. पठामि, E. H. पठौ\* or पठो\* *I read*, see § 497, 2.

## dd) Elision.

\* 123. *व्* before *इ* (or *ई*) is elided; as a rule (cf. § 33); only original; thus E. H. ऐकस् *twenty one* (W. H. एकीस्), A. Mg. एक्कवीसा (Wb. Bh. 426. H. C. 1, 28), Skr. एकविंशतिः; E. H. बाइस् *twenty two*, A. Mg. बावीसं (Wb. Bh. 425) or बावीसा (Wb. Bh. 426. T. V. 1, 4. 79), Skr. द्वाविंशतिः; E. H. तेइस् *twenty three*, A. Mg. तेवीसं (Wb. Bh. 425) or तेवीसा (H. C. 1, 165), Skr. त्रयोविंशतिः; E. H. पचीस् *twenty five* for \*पचइस्, A. Mg. \*पंचवीसं or ीसा (cf. Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. पञ्चविंशतिः; E. H. सताइस् *twenty seven*, A. Mg. सत्तावीसा (H. C. 1, 4), Skr. सप्तविंशतिः; E. H. अठाइस् *twenty eight*, A. Mg. अट्टावीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. अष्टाविंशतिः; E. H. अोनइस् *nineteen* (W. H. उनीस्), A. Mg. उणावीसा or एकूणावीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. उनविंशतिः or एकोनविंशतिः; E. H. भइल् *been*, पाइल् *found*, आइल् *come*, see § 109; E. H. पठइबो or पठैबो *I shall send*, Ap. \*पट्टविबुडे or \*पट्टाविबुडे, Pr. पट्टाविबुडम्हि, Skr. प्रस्थापितव्योऽस्मि; E. H. पठाई *he shall send*, Pr. पट्टाविहिइ, Skr. प्रस्थापयिष्यति; E. H. पठइलो or पठैलो *I have sent*, Mg. पट्टाविद्दम्हि, Skr. प्रस्थापितोऽस्मि, etc. The resultant *व्*, being always hardened (see § 129) is never elided.

*Exception.* A few exceptions, see § 122.

. *Note:* In the numerals aM Gds. elide *व्*, exc. M., G. and S.; thus 21 M. एकवीस्, G. एकवीष् (S. एकीह); 22 M. बावीस् or बेवीस्, G. बावीष्, S. बावीह; 23. M. तेवीस्, G. त्रेवीष्, S. ट्रेवीह; 25 M. पंचवीस्, G. पचीष्, S. पंजीह or पंतीह, etc.

124. *रू* (= Mg. ल्) before *इ* is elided; sometimes; only original; thus E. H. क्य् *having done* for \*कइ, O. H. करि, Mg. कलिअ (H. C. 4, 302) or Mh. करिअ (H. C. 4, 272), Skr. कृत्वा; E. H. ध्य् *having placed* for \*धइ, O. H. धरि, Mg. धलिअ, Skr. धृत्वा; E. H. कै *suffix of genitive* for \*कइ, O. H. करि, Mg. \*कलिअ or \*कलिए, Skr. कृतः; E. H. वै *upon*, Ap. Mg. पलि, Mg. पले, Skr. पजे; E. H. वै *however*, Mg. पलि or पले, Skr. पजम्; E. H. धइल् *placed* and कइल् *done*, see § 109; E. H. अइस् or ऐस् *such* (see § 111), Ap. Mg. \*अइसिल्ले (cf. H. C. 4, 403), A. Mg. एलिस° or Mh. एरिस° (H. C. 1, 142), Skr. ईदृश°; E. H. कइस् or कैस् *of what kind*, Ap. Mg. \*कइसिल्ले (cf. H. C. 4, 403), A. Mg. केलिस° or Mh. केरिस° (H. C. 1, 142), Skr. कीदृश°;



E. H. तइसन् or तैसन् of *this kind*, Ap. Mg. \*तइसिल्ल, A. Mg. तालिस<sup>०</sup> or तारिस<sup>०</sup> (H. C. 4, 287), Skr. तादृश<sup>०</sup>; E. H. जइसन् or जैसन् of *which kind*, Ap. Mg. जइसिल्ल, A. Mg. जालिस<sup>०</sup> or जारिस<sup>०</sup> (Wb. Bh. 422), Skr. यादृश<sup>०</sup>; E. H. सा *like*, A. Mg. सलिच्चए or सरिच्चए, Skr. सदृशकः (see § 292).

*Note:* Pr. has an instance of the elision of ल् before इ in बइल्लो *bull* (H. C. 2, 174), Skr. बलिर्वदः.

125. ल् after उ is elided; rarely; only original; thus E. H. पुञ्चाल् *straw*, Pr. \*पुलाली, Skr. पलाली (cf. Skr. पुलाक); but perhaps for प्वाल or पावाल = Pr. पाञ्चवाली, Skr. पादपाली *litter, bed of straw*; E. H. के<sup>०</sup>चुवा or के<sup>०</sup>च<sup>०</sup>वा *earth-worm*, Mg. किंचुलए, Skr. किञ्चुलकः; E. H. कोलहू *sugar-mill*, see § 115.

126. ह before or after इ is elided; sometimes; thus in the E. H. suffix of 3. pers. sg. fut. ई (for \*इई), Pr. इही or इहिइ, Skr. इष्यति; e. g., E. H. होई *he will be*, Pr. होही (H. C. 2, 180) or होहिइ (H. C. 4, 388), Skr. भविष्यति; E. H. हँसी or हसी (§ 67) *he will laugh*, Pr. हसिहिइ (H. C. 3, 157), Skr. हसिष्यति; E. H. ऐँ (for \*अई) suffix of 3. pers. pl. pres., Ap. Pl. अहिं, Pr. अंति, Skr. अन्ति; e. g., E. H. करैँ *they do*, Ap. करहिं (H. C. 4, 382), Pr. करंति (H. C. 4, 376), Skr. कुर्वन्ति; E. H. हँसैँ or हसैँ *they laugh*, Ap. हसहिं, Pr. हसंति (H. C. 3, 142), Skr. हसन्ति; E. H. ऐँ or ऐँ or ईँ suffix of locative (see § 77. exc.), Ap. अहिं (K. I. 12, 27), Skr. ए; e. g., E. H. पाछैँ or पाछैँ *behind*, Ap. पच्छहिं, Skr. पश्चे; E. H. ए suff. of the obl. form sing. of adj. (see § 386), O. H. अहि, Ap. Pr. अहे, Skr. अस्य; e. g., E. H. मीठे *sweet*, O. H. मोठहि, Ap. मिठहे, Skr. मिष्टस्य; E. H. ईँ suffix of 1. pers. pl. pres., Pr. इम, Skr. आमः (§ 497, 4); e. g., E. H. हसौँ *we laugh*, Pr. हसिम, Skr. हसामः; E. H. ले *he takes*, Pr. लेइ (H. C. 4, 238) for \*लिहइ or लहइ (H. C. 4, 335), Skr. लभते; E. H. लेँ *they take*, Pr. लेहिं (H. C. 4, 387) for \*लिहंति or लहंति (H. C. 4, 341), Skr. लभन्ते; E. H. बिहफैँ or बिहफैँ *thursday*, Pr. बिहफई (H. C. 1, 138), Skr. बृहस्पतिः, see also § 32. Sometimes otherwise; as E. H. मो (करूँ) of *me*, Ap. Pr. महु (H. C. 4, 379), see § 430, 1.

*Note:* In W. H., ओ or ओ suffix of 2. pers. pl. pres., Ap.

अहु (H. C. 4, 384), Skr. अयः, see § 497, 5; e. g., W. H. माँगो or माँगो *you ask*, Ap. मगहु (H. C. 4, 387), Skr. मार्गयः; also W. Gd. ओ or ओ or ओ or ऐ suff. of the obl. form pl., Ap. Pr. अहुं or अहं or अहिं, Skr. आनाम्, see § 365, 7; e. g., Br. नरौ, H. H. नरौ, S. नरौ or नरौ *men*, Ap. पारहुं or पारहं or पारहिं, Skr. नराणाम्; S. ऊ suffix of 1. pers. pl. pres., Ap. अहुं (H. C. 4, 386), Pr. अमु (H. C. 3, 155), Skr. आमः, see § 497, 4; e. g., S. हलू *we go* (Tr. 314), Ap. चलहुं, Pr. चलम्, Skr. चलामः. About the elision of ह in Ap. Pr. see Ls. 484; also Pr. सरिआहँ (H. C. 4, 300) for \*सरिहाहँ, Skr. सदृशाणाम्, E. H. सा, see § 124.

127. म् before इ and before or after उ is optionally elided; often; generally with anunāsika; thus E. H. गोसाई or गोसामी *monk*, Ap. गोसामिउ, Skr. गोस्वामिकः; E. H. साई or सामो *master*, Ap. सामिउ (H. C. 4, 409), Skr. स्वामिकः; E. H. कुअर or कुअर or कुवर *prince*, Ap. Pr. कुवर or कुमर (cf. H. C. 4, 397. 1, 67), Skr. कुमारः; E. H. कुअर or कुवार or कुमार *youth, prince*, see p. 29; E. H. कुअरी or कुवारी or कुमारी *virgin, princess*, Ap. कुवारिआ or कुमारिआ, Skr. कुमारिका; E. H. भूई or भूमो, Pr. भूमिआ, Skr. भूमिका; E. H. धूअ or धूवा *smoke*, Ap. धूवउ or धूमउ, Skr. धूमकः; E. H. कोई or कोई *waterlily or jackfruit*, Pr. कुमुइआ (cf. H. C. 2, 182), Skr. कुमुदिका; E. H. सोहै or सोही *in front of*, Ap. Pr. समुहिं (cf. H. C. 1, 29) or संमुहिं (see § 126), Pr. संमुहमि, Skr. सम्मुखे; E. H. रँ *hair of the body*, Mg. लोमे, Skr. जेम; E. H. रोअ or रोवा *hair of the body*, Mg. लोमअ, Skr. जेमकम्. Rarely without anunāsika; as E. H. गइल् or गैल् *gone*, see § 77.

*Note:* Four instances of the elision of म् before उ are mentioned by H. C. 1, 178 (Vr. 2, 3); Pr. ञउँपा, Skr. यमुना *Jamnā*; Pr. चाउँउ, Skr. चामुपउ *Durga*; Pr. काउँओ, Skr. कामुकः *a certain plant*; Pr. अषाउँतव, Skr. अतिमुक्तकम् *a certain shrub*. None of these occur in E. H.; here they are tats. or semitats.; e. g., E. H. ञमुना, not tadbh. \*ज्ञौन्; perhaps to distinguish from जौन् *foreigner*, Pr. जवणो, Skr. यवनः, as in E. H. जौनपुर *Jaunpur*, Skr. यवनपुरम्. In Pr. म् before इ might become व् by H. C. 4, 397; and such व् too, would be elided in E. H. by § 123.

128. न् before or after इ or before उ; with or without *anúdsika*; very rarely; thus 1) original, as E. H. ठाउँ or ठाउ or ठाव् place, residence, Ap. ठाउ (H. C. 4, 332) or ठाणु (H. C. 4, 362), Pr. ठाणं (H. C. 4, 16), Skr. स्थानम्; E. H. चौ from for \*चाइ (N. चाञ्जि), Ap. चाणि, Pr. चाणे (cf. H. C. 4, 16), Skr. स्थाने, W. H. also ते, तई, ताई; E. H. बाँसुरी flute, Pr. वंसपालिका, Skr. वंशनालिका; 2) resultant, as in the E. H. conjunct य for O. H. गिन, cf. §§ 18, p. 24. 139, note. 141.

Note: E. H. has also ठाम्, besides ठाव्, ठाउँ; and this rather points to a Pr. word ठाम्, ठामं (cf. § 127); H. C. has थामं (H. C. 4, 267), perhaps Skr. स्थामन्.

ee) Hardening.

129. व् and व् become न् and ब्; only resultant; thus E. H. कारन् work, Pr. \*कारिज् (cf. H. C. 2, 67), Skr. कार्यम् (or semitats.?); E. H. अचारन् teacher, A. Mg. \*आचारिज्, Skr. आचार्यः (or semitats.?); E. H. अचरन् wonderful, Pr. अचरिज् (H. C. 2, 67), Skr. आश्चर्यम्; E. H. चउबिस् or चौबिस् or चवबिस् twenty four, Pr. चउव्वीसं (cf. H. C. 3, 137. Wb. Bh. 425. 426), Skr. चतुर्विंशतिः; E. H. इबिस् or इब्बिस् twenty six, A. Mg. इव्वीसं (Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. षड्विंशतिः; E. H. परबत् mountain, Skr. पर्वतः (semitats.); E. H. पुरुब् eastern, Pr. पुरुव्वं (Ls. 183), Skr. पूर्वम्.

ff) Miscellaneous.

130. घ् or छ् become ग् or ज् or र्; in E. H. घडै or गडै he fashions, Pr. घडइ or गडइ (H. C. 4, 112), Skr. घटते; E. H. बिगडै or बिगडै it is spoilt, destroyed, Pr. बिगडइ or बिघडइ, Skr. बिघटते; also भ् or फ् becomes ब् or प्; as E. H. पर्सै he touches, Pr. फरिसइ (H. C. 4, 182), Skr. स्पृशति (denom.); E. H. अबर्क् tale, Skr. अभक्म् (semitats. cf. § 132).

131. क् or ग्, ट्, प् and ब् become optionally घ्, ङ्, फ् and भ् respectively; in E. H. परघट् or परगट् manifest (see § 102); E. H. पहिलौठा or पहिलौठा firstborn, Mg. \*पहिल्लउट्ट (see § 118), Skr. प्रथमपुत्रकः; E. H. पुन् or पुन् again, Ap. पुणु (H. C. 4, 343), Skr. पुनर्; E. H. सब् or सभ् all, Mg. सब्बे, Skr. सर्वः.

Note: In the seventies the aspirate is produced by the

suppression of the neutral vowel; E. H. एवन्तर seventy one for एकहन्तर; E. H. पवन्तर seventy five for पचहन्तर; E. H. सवन्तर seventy seven for सतहन्तर; E. H. षठन्तर seventy eight for षटहन्तर.

132. *Aspiration is transferred*; in E. H. अवरस् or अवरक् tale, Skr. अम्रकम् (semitats.); E. H. हमार or हमरा our (H. H. हमारा), Ap. Pr. अमहारा (H. C. 4, 345), see § 73; E. H. फात्रा father's sister for \*पिउहा, Pr. पिउच्चा or पिउसिचा (H. C. 2, 142), Skr. पितृषुसा; also E. H. फुकी; E. H. फुप् flower, Pr. पुष्कं (H. C. 2, 53), Skr. पुष्पम्; E. H. उल्लारै or उल्लारै he plucks up for \*उल्लारै, Pr. उल्लारै (cf. H. C. 4, 187), Skr. उत्कर्षति; E. H. निभाए or निभाहै he accomplishes, Pr. निभाहेइ, Skr. निर्वहति; E. H. म्हैस् buffalo, cf. § 177.

*Note*: There are instances in Pr.; as बहिणी or भइणी sister (H. C. 2, 126), Skr. भगिनी, E. H. बहिनि; Pr. गढइ or घउइ he fashions (H. C. 4, 112), Skr. घटते, E. H. गढै or गाढै or गडै or गाडै (§ 130). It is frequent in S.; as पंधरौ or पंदरहं fifteen, also M. पंधर; S. इको this for \*इतहो; उको that for \*उतहो (§ 438, 4); खौ from for \*कहौ, खे to for \*कहे (§ 375); चाल्लारो forty for \*चालीहारो; पांइ or पान्ह तो own for \*पानह जो (§ 451).

133. *Consonants are transposed*; in E. H. पहिरै he puts on (clothes) for \*परिरै, Mg. \*पलिहइ or \*पलिधइ or \*पलिधेइ (cf. Cw. 99, 21), Skr. पण्डिताति; E. H. चहुँपै and पहुँचै he arrives, Pr. पहुचइ (H. C. 4, 390, 419), Skr. पर्यापत्यते (Mg. पय्यावचइ); also कीच् or कीचर and चीक् or चीकर mud (Skr. चिक्रिद); नखलौ and लखनौ Lucknow; बिराम् and बिमार sick (persian بيمار); also W. H. रहस् and हरस् merriment, E. H. हरिस् see § 58; H. H. डूबै, E. H. बूडै he sinks, Pr. बुडइ (H. C. 4, 101), Skr. वुडति (i. e. मज्जति).

*Note*: Also in Pr.; as वाणारसी (Wb. Bh. 412, H. C. 2, 116), Skr. वाराणसी, E. H. बनारस् Benares; Pr. अलचपुरं (H. C. 2, 118), Skr. अलचपुरम्, E. H. अलवर (for \*अलचउरं) Alwar; Pr. मरहट्टं (H. C. 2, 119), Skr. महाराष्ट्रम्, E. H. मरहह or मराह Maráthá, see § 32; Pr. दहो (H. C. 2, 120), Skr. दहः, E. H. दह deep water; Pr. हलिआरो or हरिआलो (H. C. 2, 121), Skr. हरितालः; E. H. हरियाइ green; Pr. हलुअं (for हलुकं) or लहुअं (H. C. 2, 122), Skr. लघुकम्, E. H. हलक्, H. H. हलका light.

134. *Consonants are interchanged*; viz. 1) व् and न्, in E. H. निनानखे *ninety nine*, Pr. \*नवाणवूर्, Skr. नवनवतिः; 2) व् and म्, in E. H. चिकनावट् *clayey soil*, Pr. चिक्कणाचमट्टी, Skr. चिक्कणाकमृत्तिः; and vice versa in E. H. पुहुमि *earth*, Pr. पुहुवी (H. C. 1, 131), Skr. पृथ्वी; E. H. पिर्यमी *earth*, Skr. पृथिवी (semitats.); 3) स् and ह्, in E. H. केहरी or केसरी *lion*, A. Mg. केसलिए (cf. H. C. 4, 335. Wb. Bh. 255), Skr. केशजिकः.

*Note*: The latter in Pr. optionally, in दह or दस *ten* (H. C. 1, 262), Skr. दश, E. H. दस or दहै; Pr. दिवहो or दिवसो *day* (H. C. 1, 263. Wb. Bh. 378), Skr. दिवसः, E. H. दिवा or दिवस् (see § 32); Pr. °दहं (H. C. 2, 157) or °रिसं (H. C. 1, 142. Wb. Bh. 422) or रिसं (for रिहं cf. H. C. 4, 300 and § 126, note), Skr. दृशं *like*, E. H. °इस (in तइसन् § 124); Pr. °हन्नरि (Wb. Bh. 426) *seventy*°, Skr. °सप्ततिः, E. H. °हन्नरू. The change of व् to म् is not uncommon in B., O. and G.; e. g., O. करिवि or करिमि *I shall do* (Sn. 28), O. केमन् *how* for \*केवन्; B. केमन् *how* = Ap. Pr. केवडु; G. चुमालीश *forty four* = E. H. चौवालिस्; W. H. समा *one and a quarter* = E. H. सवा (§ 416). For\* examples in Ap. Pr., see H. C. 4, 401. 396 and § 122, note.

135. *Consonants are interpolated*; viz. दू in E. H. पन्दरह् *fifteen*, Pr. पसरह (H. C. 2, 43) or पन्नरस (Wb. Bh. 426. H. C. 3, 123), Skr. पञ्चदश; again रू in E. H. करोरू or करोरू *ten millions*, Ap. क्रोटि (cf. H. C. 4, 399), Mg. क्रोटी (Wb. Bh. 427), Skr. क्रोटीः; E. H. सराप् *curse*, Ap. Pr. \*स्रापु (H. C. 4, 399), Skr. श्रापः (semitats.); again य् in E. H. ऐयारह्, Pr. \*एगारह or एक्कारस (Wb. Bh. 424), Skr. एकादश; E. H. ऐक्कावन् *fifty one*, Pr. \*एक्कावसं, Skr. एकपञ्चाशत्; E. H. ऐक्कासी *eighty one*, Pr. \*एक्कासीर् (cf. Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. एकाशीतिः; E. H. ऐक्कानखे *ninety one*, Pr. \*एक्काणवूर्, Skr. एकनवतिः; E. H. निन्यानखे or निन्नानखे *ninety nine*, see § 134. •

*Note*: E. H. has a word कोरी or कोडी, but it means *score, twenty* (see § 405). — Perhaps E. H. ऐय्° and ऐक्क्° stand for ऐय्य° and ऐक्कय, Skr. एकक°. — Occasionally रू is interpolated in Ap. Pr., see H. C. 4, 399; as व्रासु or वासु, Skr. व्यासः *Vyāsa*.

### ४) CONJUNCT CONSONANTS.

136. Medial conjunct consonants in E. H. are of two kinds, original and resultant. The former are those which have passed as such into E. H. from the Pr., as in the tadbh. पक्का *ripe*, A. Mg. पक्कए, Skr. पक्कः; E. H. पत्थर *stone*, A. Mg. पत्थले, Skr. प्रस्तः; E. H. सत्तर *seventy*, A. Mg. सत्तरि, Skr. सप्ततिः; E. H. निकम्मा *worthless*, A. Mg. निक्कम्मए, Skr. निःकर्मकः; E. H. कान्ह *krishna*, Mg. कणहे, Skr. कृष्णः; or from the Skr., as in the semitats. बिश्वास *belief*, Skr. विश्वासः, E. H. ग्रिहस्त *householder*, Skr. गृहस्थः. The latter are those which have resulted either a) from the contraction of contiguous vowels, as in the tadbh. चल्यो *I walked*, Ap. \*चलिञ्चउं, Pr. चलिञ्चग्ग्हि, Skr. चलितोऽस्मि, or in the semitats. आया *order*, P. आगिआ, O. H. आगिना, Skr. आज्ञा; or b) from the suppression of an intermediate vowel, as in the tadbh. चिन्ती *petition* for चिनती, Pr. चिस्तिआ, Skr. चिज्ञापिका; E. H. दुल्हा *bridegroom* for दुलहा, Mg. दुल्लहर, Skr. दुर्लभकः; E. H. चिस्रा *a measure of land* (the 20. part.), Ap. Mg. वोसवए or वोसमए, Skr. विश्रमकः; E. H. गधा *ass* for गद्हा, Mg. गद्धए, Skr. गर्दभकः; E. H. ब्रहेला *hog* for वरहेला, Ap. Mg. \*वराहिल्लए, Skr. वराहः, etc. These latter are not uncommon in the *khari* E. H., though very rare in the *theth* (e. g., in the numerals ऐखन्न *seventy one*, सयन्न *seventy seven*, etc., see § 131, note); in H. H. they are the rule (see § 6, note). Of the resultant conjuncts, those arising from the suppression of a vowel may be of any kind, strong, mixed or weak<sup>1)</sup>, homogeneous or heterogeneous; but those arising from the contraction of vowels must be heterogeneous and either mixed or weak. Neither kind of resultant suffers any further change in E. H. As to the original conjuncts, the tatsamas may be of any kind, but the tadbhavas can only be either homogeneous (as क्क, न्, त्, म्, etc.) or such as consist of a consonant proper preceded by a nasal (as ऊँ, ऊँ, ऊँ, etc.) or of ह् following a nasal or semivowel (as

1) These useful terms of classification I have adopted from Beames I, 281.

न्ह, ण्ह, ण्ह, ह, ह्ह = ण्ह); for these are the only conjuncts tolerated in Pr. (see § 137). Both original classes, the *tadbh.* and *tats.*, are, as a rule, liable to further change in E. H. This may take place in three ways: 1) they may be *dissolved* by the interpolation of a vowel (ञ, ण, or उ, §§ 138—142); or 2) they may be *simplified* by eliding one consonant (see §§ 143—150); or 3) they may be *elided* altogether (see §§ 151—157). There are, also, isolated changes of a miscellaneous kind (see §§ 158—166).

137. *Affinities.* These three kinds of changes exist in Pr. also; thus the conj. is *dissolved* in Pr. सत्ताहा (H. C. 2, 101), Skr. श्रता, E. H. सत्ताहा *praise*; Pr. सिरि (H. C. 2, 104), Skr. श्री, E. H. सिरि *prosperity*; Pr. दुवारं (H. C. 2, 112), Skr. द्वारम्; E. H. दुवार *door*. Other examples see § 142. The conjunct is *simplified* in Pr. ईसरो or इस्सरो (Vr. 3, 58), Skr. ईश्वरः, E. H. ईस *lord*; Pr. वासा (H. C. 2, 105) for \*वसा; Skr. वर्षा, E. H. वास् *rain* (cf. § 283); see also § 150. The conj. is *elided*, either undissolved, as in Pr. राई or रत्तो (H. C. 2, 88), Skr. रात्रिः, E. H. राति *night*; or after dissolution, as in Pr. रश्मि (Vr. 3, 60) for रत्ता, Skr. रत्नम्, E. H. रत्न *gem*; see also § 157. The former kind of elision is not uncommon in E. H. (see § 151—156); the latter is exceptional, both in Pr. and E. H. (see §§ 141. 142). — Generally speaking, however, the treatment of conjuncts is this, that while Skr. admits almost any kind of them, homogeneous or heterogeneous, Pr. makes them, as a rule, homogeneous, and E. H. further reduces them to single consonants either by dissolution or by the elision of one. The only heterogeneous conj., tolerated by Pr., are those consisting of a nasal or anusvāra preceding a consonant proper (see H. C. 2, 92. 1, 30; e. g., संका or सत्का, Skr. सन्धा, E. H. साँक् *evening*), or of ह् following a nasal (see H. C. 2, 74. 75; e. g., Pr. कण्हो, Skr. कृष्णः, E. H. कान् *krishna*; Pr. ब्रह्मणो, Skr. ब्राह्मणः, E. H. बामन् *brāhmaṇ*) or ल् (see H. C. 4, 26. 200. 2, 76; e. g., पलह्यद् (cf. Wb. Bh. 409), Skr. \*पर्यस्तयति, E. H. पलथै *he turns over*). In the Ap. Pr. also the conjunct of a cons. proper with a following ण् may occur (see H. C. 4, 398. 399;

e. g., Ap. मित्र or पित्र, Skr. प्रियः *beloved*; Ap. वासु or वासु, Skr. व्यासः *Vyāsa*); in E. H., however, this kind of conj. is as a rule dissolved; see § 138. 185. 186.

aa) Dissolution.

138. अ is interpolated; often; E. H. इमली *amarind*, Mg. अमलिघा (cf. Wb. Bh. 377) for Pr. \*अमलिघा (cf. H. C. 2, 106), Skr. अम्लिका; E. H. सुदर्शन *beautiful*, A. Mg. सुदर्शिणो (cf. H. C. 2, 105), Skr. सुदर्शनः; E. H. दर्शन *interview, visit at a shrine*, Pr. दर्शिणं, Skr. दर्शनम्; E. H. बरही *peacock*, A. Mg. बरहिर् (cf. H. C. 2, 104 but cf. Ls. 142), Skr. बर्हिः; E. H. परामर्स् *consideration*, A. Mg. परामर्शिसे (cf. H. C. 2, 105), Skr. परामर्शः; E. H. सुक्क or सुक्कल् *white*, Pr. सुक्किल (H. C. 2, 106), Skr. शुक्लम् (or शुक्कम्); E. H. अमरा *mango*, Pr. अमिरिअं (cf. H. C. 2, 56), Skr. आम्रकम्; E. H. अमल् *sour*, Pr. अमिलं (H. C. 2, 106. Wb. Bh. 415), Skr. अम्लम्; E. H. मुरख् *stupid*, A. Mg. मुरक्खे (cf. H. C. 2, 112), Skr. मूर्खः; E. H. मुरखा *swoon*, Skr. मूर्छा (semitats.); E. H. अचरत् *wonderful*, कारत् *work*, अचारत् *teacher*, see § 129; E. H. बरहई or बर्हई or बर्हई *carpenter* (see § 114); E. H. ब्रमहन् or ब्रामन् *brāhman*, Mg. ब्रम्हो (H. C. 2, 74), Skr. ब्राह्मणः; F. H. कन्हैया or कन्हैया *Krishna*, Mg. कणहर् (cf. H. C. 2, 75), Skr. कृष्णकः; E. H. सहस्र *thousand*, Ap. Pr. सहसं, Skr. सहस्रम्; E. H. चक्र *wheel*, बकरी *she-goat*, see § 102, etc. Very commonly in semitats., as E. H. पर्वत् *mountain* (§ 129), Skr. पर्वतः; E. H. किरपा *mercy*, Skr. कृपा; E. H. किरति *praise*, Skr. कीर्तिः; E. H. जन्म *birth*, Skr. जन्म; E. H. रत्न *gem*, Skr. रत्नम्; E. H. जतन् *effort*, Skr. यत्नः; E. H. बिगत् *individual*, रग्त् *blood* (cf. H. C. 2, 10 रग्गो), भगत् *devotee*, भगति *faith*, भगताई *devotedness*, मुगति *salvation*, see § 102; E. H. बर्कि *but*, Pers. बलिक (بلك).

139. इ is interpolated; sometimes; thus E. H. अग्नि or अग्नि or अग्नि *fire*, Pr. अग्निपो (Ls. 244) or अग्निपो (H. C. 1, 102) or अग्निो (Vr. 5, 18), Skr. अग्निः; E. H. मिसिर् or मिसर् *a brāhman family-name*, A. Mg. \*मिसिरे (but मीसे *mixed* Wb. Bh. 173. H. C. 2, 170), Skr. मिश्रः; E. H. आइल् or आयल् *come*, पाइल् or पावल् *attained*, see § 109; E. H. बिरिछ् *tree*, Skr. वृक्षः; E. H. सइन् *sign*, see § 141.



*Note:* The E. H. conjunct ग्य *gya*, O. H. गिन *gina* is to be explained by this rule; e. g., E. H. राग्यौ, O. H. रागिनौ, Skr. रासी; see § 18, pp. 23. 24.

140. उ is interpolated; rarely; thus E. H. पुरुष, W. H. पुरुष, Pr. पुरुषं (Ls. 183) or पुरुवं (H. C. 4, 323 or पुरुवं?), Skr. पूर्वम्; E. H. सुरुग top, point, but सौग horn and सौग spear, Pr. सिंगं or संगं (H. C. 1, 130), Skr. शृङ्गम्; see also § 187.

141. Dissolved consonants are treated like original single ones; thus क becomes ग (cf. § 102); e. g., in E. H. बिगत्, रगत्, भागत्, etc.; see § 138; न् is elided (cf. § 101); e. g., in E. H. सङ्ग or सैन् sign, Pr. \*सङ्गा or \*सन्निगा, Skr. सङ्गा, cf. Pr. राङ्गा (H. C. 3, 51) for \*रान्निगा, Ps. Pr. राचिञ्जा (H. C. 4, 304), Skr. राञ्जा; दू becomes लू (cf. § 109) or is elided (cf. § 101); e. g., in E. H. अदलो or आयो I came, Mg. अविदस्मि or अविचस्मि, Skr. आप्पोस्मि, etc.; व् is elided (cf. § 123); e. g., in E. H. पदलो or पायो I obtained, Mg. पाविदस्मि or पाविचस्मि, Skr. पाप्पोस्मि; न् is elided (cf. § 128); e. g., in the E. H. conjunct °ग्य° for O. H. °गिन°, see § 139, note.

*Note:* The participial examples, \*as अदलो, पायो, etc. and Pr. तविञ्चो (H. C. 2, 105), Skr. तप्, are scarcely quite apposite, as their इ is a connecting (suff. इ + त), not a dissolving vowel.

142. Affinities. Examples of dissolutions are not uncommon in Pr. Probably many of the above instances, though not recorded by Pr. Gramm., existed in Pr. already. In some cases the dissolving vowel has been changed in E. H.; as in E. H. दरसन् for Pr. दरिषणं; other examples see in §§ 138—140. Other examples, in which E. H. has preserved the Pr. dissolving vowel, are: Pr. सारंगं (H. C. 2, 100), Skr. शार्ङ्गम्, E. H. सारंग bow; Pr. वरिसं, हरिसो, फरिसो, see § 58, note. Some more Pr. examples, see in H. C. 2, 101—114. Vr. 3, 60—66; most of them do not seem to have survived in E. H. In one case, apparently, E. H. does not dissolve, but simplify; Pr. गरिहा (H. C. 2, 104), Skr. गर्हा, but E. H. गार्गे or गाली abuse = A. Mg. \*गर्हिह्वा or \*गर्हिञ्वा, Skr. गर्हिङ्का; but it dissolves in गरियावै or गलियावै he abuses for \*गरिह्वावै, A. Mg. \*गलिह्वावड् or Pr. \*गरिहावड्, Skr. गर्हयति (or den. गर्हापयति). Pr. examples of

the treatment of dissolved cons. are: 1) *elision* of cons. proper in रयणं or रञ्णं *gem* (Vr. 3, 60. H. C. 2, 101) for \*रतणं, Skr. रत्नम्, E. H. *deest* to distinguish from E. H. रयन् or रैन् *night*; Pr. वज्रं *thunderbolt* (H. C. 2, 105) for \*वजिर्, Skr. वज्रम्, E. H. *deest* to distinguish from बैर *enmity*, Pr. वज्रं (H. C. 1, 152), Skr. वैरम्; but E. H. वज्र (semitata.); Pr. सुडलं *white* (H. C. 2, 166 or सुकिलं), Skr. शुक्लम्, E. H. *deest*; Pr. तविन्नो *hot* (H. C. 2, 105) for \*तविदो, Skr. तपः, E. H. *deest*, but it has तात् = Pr. तन्नो; Pr. पडमं *lotus* (Vr. 3, 65) for \*पदुमं, Skr. पद्मम्; E. H. *deest*; Pr. राज्ञा by a king for \*रातिपां (see § 141), etc.; 2) *retention* in अगणी *fire* by H. C. 1, 177; 3) *doubling* in सुक्किलं *white* (H. C. 2, 106), Skr. शुक्लम्, E. H. सुकल्; Pr. पुरुव्वं *forward* (Ls. 183) or पुरव्वं (H. C. 4, 323), Skr. पूर्वम्, E. H. पुरुब् or पुरब्<sup>1</sup>); 4) *reduction* of aspirate in सुहमं (H. C. 2, 101) or सुहुमं (H. C. 2, 113. 1, 118. Wb. Bh. 406. 410) for \*सुलुमं, Skr. सूक्ष्मम्.

bb) Simplification.

143. *The first consonant is elided*; as a rule; thus क् in E. H. सक्के *he can*, Pr. सक्कइ (H. C. 4, 86), Skr. शक्नोति; E. H. सूखा or सूका *dry*, A. Mg. सुक्खए or सुक्कर (cf. H. C. 2, 5. Wb. Bh. 289—291); ग् in E. H. माग् *road* (see § 45); E. H. बाघ् *tiger*, Mg. बाघे (cf. H. C. 2, 90), Skr. व्याघ्रः; च् in E. H. पचै *it is digested*, Pr. पच्चइ, Skr. पच्यते; E. H. माहो *fly*, Pr. मच्छिआ (H. C. 2, 17), Skr. मत्तिकाः; न् in E. H. आज्ञ् *to-day*, Pr. अज्ञ (H. C. 1, 33), Skr. अघ; E. H. अक्के *he understands*, Pr. बुडकइ (H. C. 4, 217), Skr. बुध्यते; ट् in E. H. तूटै *it breaks*, Pr. तुट्टइ (H. C. 4, 230), Skr. तुट्यति; E. H. पेठि *back*, Pr. पिट्ठी (H. C. 1, 35), Skr. पृष्ठम् or Ved. पृष्ठिः; ड् in E. H. कोडो or कोरी, see § 104; E. H. अक्के *it grows*, see § 114; त् in E. H. बात् *event, word*, Pr. वत्ता (H. C. 2, 30), Skr. वार्ता; E. H. हाण् *hand*, A. Mg. हत्थे, Skr. हस्तः; द् in E. H. गद्धा *ass*, see § 136; E. H. दूध् *milk*, Pr. दुट्ठ (H. C. 2, 89), Skr. दुग्धम्; प् in E. H. इप्पए or इप्पै *a kind of verse*, Mg. इप्पये (cf. H. C. 2, 77), Skr. इट्पदः; E. H. बाप् *steam*, Mg. वप्पे (cf. H. C. 2, 70), Skr. बाष्पः; ब् or व् in E. H.

1) सुक्किलं and पुरव्वं seem to be correct readings; as shown by the E. H., which has ब् for व्, not for व् (cf. § 129).

सब् *all*, A. Mg. सब्बे (cf. H. C. 3, 58), Skr. सर्वः; E. H. त्तोम् *tongue*, Pr. त्तिन्ना (H. C. 2, 57), Skr. त्रिङ्गा; ह् in E. H. पालकी *a palanquin*, Pr. पल्लंकिआ (cf. H. C. 2, 68), Skr. पर्यङ्किआ or पल्यङ्किआ; ज् in E. H. पचास् *fifty*, Pr. \*पंचासं (see § 397), Skr. पञ्चाशत्; ण् in E. H. सान् *sign*, Pr. ससा (H. C. 2, 83), Skr. संज्ञा; E. H. कटहल् *jackfruit*, see § 120; न् in E. H. आन् *other*, Mg. अन्ने (H. C. 3, 58. Wb. Bh. 403), Skr. अन्यः; E. H. हसत् *laughing*, A. Mg. हसंते (cf. H. C. 3, 181), Skr. हसन्; म् in E. H. काम् *work*, see § 45; ल् in E. H. पलटै *he turns over*, Pr. पल्लट्टइ (H. C. 4, 200), Skr. पर्यस्तयति (den.); स् in E. H. पूस् *the month December-January*, A. Mg. पुस्से or पूसे (cf. Vr. 3, 58), Skr. पुष्यः. Sometimes in foreign words; as E. H. बाकि *but for बल्कि*, Pers. بلكي; E. H. बाटे *for the sake of* for वास्ते, Ar. واسطی (?).

*Exception.* Rarely both cons. are retained; as E. H. पक्का or पका *ripe, thorough*, पत्थर or पाथर *stone*, निकम्मा *useless*, see § 136; E. H. चक्का or चका or चाका *wheel*, Pr. चक्कअं (H. C. 2, 79), Skr. चक्रकम्; E. H. सच् or सच् or साच् or साँच् *true*, उच्च or उँच् *high*, see § 149, 2; E. H. बच्चा or ब्रैच्चा (§ 145, exc. 2) or बच्चा or बचा *young*, Mg. बच्चा (cf. Vr. 3, 40), Skr. व्रतकः; E. H. पट्टा or पटा *title-deed*, Mg. पट्टर, Skr. पट्टकः; E. H. सत्तर *seventy*, see § 108; E. H. गिह् or गोध् *vulture*, see § 63; E. H. कम्मल् *blanket*, see p. 20; As a rule, when the first is a nasal; thus E. H. पक् (i. e. पङ् § 13) or पाँक् *mud*, and other examples, see p. 29; cf. also § 149.

144. *The second consonant is elided*; only य्, व् and optionally ह्; thus य् in E. H. पाथा *teacher* (cf. § 173), Skr. उपाध्यायः; E. H. अक्ख् *Oudh* (cf. § 78), Skr. अयोध्या; E. H. मधि *within*, Skr. मध्ये; E. H. पराग् *Allahabad* for \*पर्याग्, Skr. प्रयागः; E. H. परोत्तन् *necessity* for \*पर्यात्तन्, Skr. प्रयोत्तनम्; E. H. पराचित् *penance* for \*पर्याचित्, Skr. प्रायश्चित्तम् (all semitats.). Again व् in E. H. चूमै *he kisses*, Mg. चुम्बइ (cf. H. C. 4, 239), Skr. चुम्बति; E. H. अमरा *mango*, अमला *sour*, see § 138; H. H. तामुन् *rose-apple*, see § 111; E. H. लाम् *long*, Mg. लम्बे, Skr. लम्बः; E. H. समुक्कै *he understands*, Mg. सम्मुक्कइ, Skr. सम्मुद्यते, and others, see § 18, p. 20; E. H. चिर्यो *earth* (also चिर्यमो see § 132), Skr. पृथ्वी (semitats.). Again ह् in बामन् or

ब्रह्मन् or ब्रमहन् *Brāhman*, कान् or कान्ह् *krishna* (e. g., in कानपुर *Cawnpore*), see § 136; E. H. सूनू *daughter-in-law* for \*सुन्हू, Pr. \*सुपहुआ or \*सोपहुआ (cf. Vr. 2, 47. H. C. 1, 261), Skr. सुषा (or \*सुषुका; cf. Pr. माउआ for माता, § 52); E. H. समलै or सम्हलै or सम्मालै *he supports*, see § 120; E. H. पलथै *he turns over*, see § 137; E. H. कोलू or कोलहू *sugar-mill*, see § 115; E. H. गाली *abuse* for \*गाल्ही, see § 142.

*Exception.* Rarely न् is elided before ह्; as E. H. जोहै *he regards, looks*, Pr. जोपहह् (cf. H. C. 2, 75), Skr. \*ज्योत्स्नयति (denom. R.).

145. *The remaining consonant is treated like an original single one*; thus उ as a rule becomes ऊ or र्; e. g., in E. H. कोरी or कोगे *cowrie*, see § 104; ल् as a rule becomes र् (§ 110) as in E. H. गारी or गाली *abuse*, see § 142; ल् sometimes becomes न्, as in E. H. आपन् *own*, see § 111; प् always becomes न् (§ 112), as in E. H. कान् *car*. Mg. कषे, Skr. कर्षा; E. H. सान्, आन् see § 143; कान्, मूनू see § 144; ह् as a rule becomes ह् or ह्, as in E. H. बहै *he grows*, see § 114; व् always becomes व् (§ 129), as in E. H. सद् *all*, see § 143; for a few rare cases, see §§ 103. 107. 113. 116. 117. 119. 120. Otherwise it remains unchanged; as E. H. चको or चक्को *wheel*, Pr. चक्किआ, Skr. चक्रिका; E. H. लान् *shame*, Pr. लज्जा, Skr. लज्जा; E. H. साहि *seventy*, Pr. सदृते, Skr. षष्टिः; E. H. रान् *night*, see p. 14; E. H. हायी *elephant*, A. Mg. हत्यिए, Skr. हस्तिकः; E. H. आधा *half*, Mg. अडए (cf. H. C. 2, 41). Skr. अर्धकः; E. H. बाप् *father*, Pr. वप्पा (Mchh. 119, 5), Skr. वप्ता; E. H. घाम् *heat*, Mg. घमे, Skr. घर्मः (cf. H. C. 4, 327); and other examples in §§ 143. 144. 146. 147. 148.

*Exception 1.* Sometimes उ and ह् preceded by a nasalized vowel remain unchanged; as E. H. मूँउ *he shaves*, मोँठा *stool*, see § 149. •

*Exception 2.* Sometimes aspirates are disaspirated; thus ख् in E. H. परकै or परलै *he tests*, see § 58; घ् in E. H. महंग् *high-priced*, M. महंगे (Spt. 169), Skr. महार्घः; ध् in E. H. लाँदा or काँधा *shoulder*, A. Mg. लंधए (cf. H. C. 2, 4), Skr. स्कन्धकः; ह् in E. H. अचरन् *wonderful* for \*अह्रन्, see § 129; E. H. बचा or बहा *young*, see § 143. exc.;

E. H. पचतावै or पङ्कतावै *he repents*, Pr. पच्छन्तावद्, Skr. पश्चान्तापयति (denom.); E. H. मूच्चै or मूङ्छै *beard*, see § 56; E. H. चाहै or चाहै *he desires*, Pr. उच्छाहद् (cf. H. C. 2, 21), Skr. उत्साहयति (denom.); द् in E. H. अरतिस् or अउतिस् or अरुतिस् *thirty eight* see § 113; E. H. अरतालिस् or अउतालिस् or अरुतालिस् *forty eight*, Pr. अरुअनालोसं (or अउयाले Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. अष्टचत्वारिंशत्; E. H. अउसठि or अरसठि *sixty eight*, Pr. अरुसठ्ठी, Skr. अष्टषष्टिः; द् in E. H. बउ great for \*बडा, Mg. वडुर् (or वड° Vr. 1, 27), Skr. वृढकः; E. H. बेउ enclosure for \*बेड, Mg. वेडे (cf. Vr. 8, 40), Skr. वेष्टः; E. H. गरै or गउ or गडे *he fashions*, बिगरै or बिगडे *it is spoilt*, see § 130.

*Note:* There are traces of this disaspiration in Pr., as सुक्कं or सुक्कं *dry* (H. C. 2, 5), see § 143; Pr. पल्लुदुद् (H. C. 4, 200 for \*पल्लुदुद्) or पल्लुदुद् *he turns over*, see §§ 137. 143; Pr. विंचुओ (H. C. 2, 16) or विंचुओ (Vr. 3, 41), E. H. बिचू or बीचू, M. विंचू (Man. 36); Pr. उट्टे (cf. H. C. 2, 34), see § 149, 2; it is quite the general rule in M., and less so in B. and O.; thus M. हात् *hand*, B., O., E. H. हाय् (§ 143); M. हातो *elephant*, B., O., E. H. हायो (§ 145); M. साँनु *evening*, B., O., E. H. सांक (§ 149, 1); M. साँदू *hole in a wall*, E. H. सेँधू, see § 57; M., B., O. सोडे *ladder*, E. H. सोडे, Pr. \*सिडे, Skr. श्रेथी (?); M., B. साडे 2½; \*M. दोड, B. देड 1½; B. आटत्रिण्, M. अउतीस् or अठतीस् 38; B. आटचलिण् 48; M. अडा *great*, बेडा *enclosure*, etc. (see Bs. I, 273). It is worth noting also, that the old Mg. has ट, त्त, अ for द्, द्य् and च् (see H. C. 4, 290. 291. 295); e. g., Mg. कोष्टागालं, Skr. कोष्टागारम्; Mg. उवस्तिदे, Skr. उपस्थितः; Mg. पुअदि, Skr. पृच्छति, etc.

146. *The preceding vowel remains short; sometimes; thus always in E. H. अत् suffix of part. pres., Mg. अते (cf. H. C. 3, 181), Skr. अन् (अन्त°); e. g., E. H. होत् being, Mg. होते (cf. H. C. 3, 180), Skr. भवन्; E. H. कर्त् doing, Mg. कलते (cf. H. C. 4, 431) or कलेते, Skr. कुर्वन्, etc.; always E. H. पच् five, Pr. पंच, Skr. पञ्च in composition; e. g., E. H. पचोस् twenty five, see § 123; E. H. पचपन् fifty five, Pr. \*पंचपन्, Skr. पञ्चपञ्चाशत्; sometimes otherwise; as E. H. दुख् pain, see § 116, note; E. H. गभिन् pregnant, Pr. गब्धिणा (cf. H. C. 1, 208), Skr. गर्भिता; E. H. सकै, पचै, इपय्, सञ्, पालकी,*

पलटै, सच्, see § 143; E. H. समुकै, पलटै, see § 144; E. H. बडै, see § 114; always in the *antepenultimate* (cf. § 25); thus E. H. चाम्, but चमरा *mango*, see § 138; E. H. टूबर, but दुबरा *weak, thin*, see § 22; E. H. उतरै *he descends*, Mg. उतलइ, Skr. उतगति; E. H. गदहा, पलटै, see § 143; E. H. अमला, पलटै, see § 144; and others.

*Note:* Similarly M. has अत् suff. of 3. pers. pl., Pr. अति, Skr. अन्ति (§ 497, 2 f.); as M. चलत् *they were in the habit of going*, Pr. चलंति, Skr. चलन्ति; both M. and B. have the part. suff. अत् or इत्, but पंच° in comp.; e. g., M. पंचवीस्, B. पंचिण्, E. H. पचीस्.

147. *The preceding vowel becomes long; as a rule; thus अ* in E. H. आठ *eight*, Pr. अट्, Skr. अष्ट; E. H. रानी *quern*, see p. 23; E. H. साथ् *with*, Pr. सत्थं, Skr. संस्थम्, etc.; इ in E. H. भीह् or भीह् *alms*, Pr. भिक्षा (cf. Wb. Bh. 197. Spt. 312) or भिच्छा (Spt. 163. cf. H. C. 2, 17. 19), Skr. भिक्षा; E. H. रोह् or रोह् *bear*, Pr. रिच्छो or रिक्खो (H. C. 2, 19), Skr. ऋक्षः; E. H. दोठि *sight*, see § 43; E. H. सोय् *boiled rice, indigo*, Pr. सित्थं (H. C. 2, 17), Skr. शिक्थम्; E. H. तीनि or तीन् *three*, Pr. तिणि (H. C. 3, 121), Skr. त्रीणि, etc.; उ in E. H. सूत् *thread*, Pr. सुत्तं (H. C. 4, 287), Skr. सूत्रम्; E. H. उन् *wool*, Pr. उणा, Skr. उर्णा; E. H. मूह् *fist*, Pr. मुट्ठो (H. C. 2, 34), Skr. मुट्ठि; E. H. पूत् *son*, Mg. पुत्ते, Skr. पुत्रः, etc.; ऐ in E. H. सेत् *bedding*, Pr. सेत्ता (see § 6), Skr. शय्या; E. H. पेत् *lump*, Pr. पेण्डे (Vr. 1, 12), Skr. पिण्डम्; E. H. ऐँचा *crooked*, Pr. \*ऐँचअं, Skr. अक्षितकम्; E. H. एक् *one*, Pr. ऐक्कं (cf. H. C. 2, 99), Skr. एकम्, etc.; ओ in E. H. पोह् *hip*, Mg. \*पोट्टे, Skr. पोथः; E. H. बोले *he says*, Pr. वोल्लइ (H. C. 4, 2), Skr. वदति; E. H. पोथी *book*, Pr. पोथिआ (cf. Vr. 1, 20), Skr. पुस्तिका, etc. See other examples in §§ 143—146.

148. *The preceding vowel becomes ए or ओ; rarely; thus अ* in E. H. लेवुर or लेवुरो *cord*, see § 110. exc.; सेँध् *hole in a wall*, see § 57; E. H. पेत् *tree*, see § 103; E. H. बैँगन् *egg-plant*, Mg. वंगणे, Skr. वङ्गनः; E. H. एरी or एरी *heel*, Pr.?, Skr. अङ्घ्रिः; E. H. ऐँचा *crooked*, see § 147; E. H. केकरा or केकडा *crab*, Mg. कक्कडए, Skr. कर्कटकः; E. H. केँचुरो or केँचुली *skin of a snake*, Pr. कंचुलिआ (cf. H. C. 2, 25), Skr. कञ्चुलिका; again E. H. मोँह् or मूँह् *moustache*,

चोच्च *bill*, see § 57. Again इ in E. H. मकेला *middle*, A. Mg. मन्किल्लए (Wb. Bh. 437), Skr. मध्यः; E. H. केचुवा *earth-worm*, see § 125; E. H. हेदु *hole*, Pr. हिरुं (Wb. Bh. 174. Spt. 146), Skr. हिरुम्; E. H. सेम् *bean*, Pr. सिम्बा, Skr. शिम्बा. Again उ in E. H. कंपै *he is angry*, Pr. कुप्पइ (H. C. 4, 230), Skr. कुप्यति; E. H. कोडू *leprosy*, see § 113; E. H. कोल् *belly*, Pr. कुक्खो, Skr. कुक्षिः; E. H. सोठ *ginger*, Pr. सुंठी, Skr. शुण्ठिः.

*Note:* The change of अ to ए or ओ is probably to be explained by a transfer of the succeeding vowel इ or उ into the preceding syllable. Similarly the ए in the E. H. मेहर् *woman* (see § 57) and in the Bs. अहेस् *thou art*, O. H. अहसि is formed.

149. *The preceding vowel is nasalized*; 1) as a rule after the elision of a nasal; thus आ in E. H. तँघ् *leg*, Pr. संघा, Skr. तद्घा; E. H. बरॉक् *barren woman*, Pr. वंका, Skr. ब्रन्ध्या; E. H. साँक् *evening*, Pr. संका (H. C. 2, 92), Skr. सन्ध्या; E. H. चाँदू *moon*, see p. 29; E. H. डाँगे *footpath*, Pr. डंडिआ (cf. H. C. 1, 217), Skr. दण्डिका; E. H. भाँडा *pot*, Mg. भंडए (cf. H. C. 4, 422. 12), Skr. भाण्डकः; E. H. काँपै *he trembles*, see p. 29; etc. Again ई in E. H. मोँत्रै *he rubs*, Pr. मिंजइ, Skr. मृञ्जति; E. H. सीँचे *he irrigates*, Pr. सिंचइ (H. C. 4, 239), Skr. सिञ्चति, etc. Again उ in E. H. सूँउ *elephant's trunk*, Pr. सुंडा, Skr. गुण्डा; E. H. मूँडे *he shaves*, Pr. मुंडइ (H. C. 4, 115), Skr. मुण्डति. Again ए and ओ in E. H. सेँध्, ऐँचा, वेँगन्, etc., and चोँच्, मोँह्, see § 148. 2) Sometimes otherwise; thus आ in E. H. आँखि *eye*, see § 43; E. H. माँगै *he requests*, Pr. मगगइ (H. C. 4, 230. Spt. 71), Skr. मार्गवति; E. H. आँच् *flame* (fem.), Pr. \*अञ्चो, Skr. अर्चिः; E. H. साँच् *true*, Pr. सच्चं (cf. H. C. 2, 13), Skr. सत्यम्; E. H. साँप् *serpent*, A. Mg. सप्पे, Skr. सर्पः, etc. Again ई in E. H. ईँल् or ईल् *sugarcane*, Pr. इक्खू (H. C. 2, 17), Skr. इक्षुः; E. H. ईँट् or ईट् *brick*, Pr. इट्टा (H. C. 2, 34), Skr. इष्टा; E. H. भीँत् or भीत् *wall*, Pr. भिन्नी, Skr. भित्तिः; E. H. नीँदू or नीदू *sleep*, see § 42. Again उ in E. H. उँल् or उल् *sugarcane*, Pr. \*उक्खू or उच्छू (H. C. 2, 17. Vr. 1, 15), Skr. इक्षुः; E. H. मूँग् *a kind of pulse* (fem.), Mg. मुग्गे (cf. Vr. 3, 1), Skr. मुद्गः (masc.); E. H. उँच् *high*, Pr. उच्चं (cf. H. C. 1, 154), Skr. उच्चम्; E. H. उँट् *camel*, Pr. उट्टो (H. C. 2, 34), Skr. उट्टः. Again ए

in E. H. केँकरा or केकरा *crab*, see § 148. Again ओ in E. H. होँह or होह *lip*, A. Mg. ओह (cf. Spt. 22), Skr. ओष्ठः.

150. *Affinities.* 1) The general law of the treatment of conjuncts may be stated thus: Pr. elides the first of the (Skr.) conj. and doubles the second; Gd. (exc. S. and P.) elides the first of the (Pr.) conj. and doubles (i. e. lengthens) the preceding vowel; e. g., Skr. भक्षन् *boiled rice*, Pr. भन्न (H. C. 4, 60. Wb. Bh. 214), E. H., W. H., B., O., M., G. भात्, S. भतु; Skr. सप्त *seven*, Pr. सन्न (cf. H. C. 3, 123), E. H., etc. सात्, S. सत, P. सन्न; Skr. अष्ट *eight*, Pr. अट् (cf. H. C. 3, 123), E. H., etc. आह्, S. अठ, P. अट्ट; Skr. रात्रिः *night*, Pr. रत्नी (H. C. 2, 79), E. H., etc. राति or रात्, P. रन्न, S. रति. S. usually preserves the short vowel, and P. the conjunct. 2) Sometimes Pr. exhibits the Gd. process; especially when one of the conj. is र् (or श् or ण्); e. g., Pr. लास (H. C. 2, 92) for \*लस्स (cf. H. C. 1, 84), Skr. लास्यम्, 'E. H. लास् *dance*; Pr. ईसरो (H. C. 2, 92) or इस्सरो (Vr. 3, 58), Skr. ईश्वरः, E. H. ईसर *lord*; Pr. वीसा (H. C. 1, 28) or वीसर (Ls. 320), Skr. विंशत् or विंशतिः, E. H. वीस् *twenty*; Pr. सीख (H. C. 2, 92), Skr. शीर्षम्, E. H. सीस् *head*; Pr. वासा (H. C. 2, 105), Skr. वर्षा, E. H. \*वास *rain* (in जैपास् *violent burst of rain*, see § 283), etc.; also otherwise, as Pr. आणा *command* for \*असा, see p. 23; Pr. दीहो or दिग्वा *long*, see § 116, note, etc.; see Ls. 274. 3) Sometimes in Pr. the preceding vowel optionally becomes ए or ओ; see H. C. 1, 85. 116. Vr. 1, 12. 20; e. g., Pr. वेल्लं or विल्लं, Skr. बिल्वम्, E. H. बेल्ल *wood-apple*; Pr. पोखरो, Skr. पुष्करः, E. H. पोखर *pond*; Pr. पोत्यओ, Skr. पुस्तकः, E. H. पोया; Pr. मोगगरो, Skr. मुद्गरः, E. H. मोगर *mallet*, etc. 4) Sometimes in Pr. the first of the conj. becomes a nasal, analogous to the nasalization of the preceding vowel in Gd.; see § 158, note. 5) Sometimes in Pr. the second of the conj. is disaspirated, see § 145. exc.

#### cc) Elision.

151. क्क is elided; *very rarely*; in E. H. चौधरी *headman, chief* for \*चव<sup>०</sup> (§ 69), \*चव<sup>०</sup>, A. Mg. चक्कधरि, Skr. चक्रधरिकः (lit. *discus-holder*; from ०रिन् + क्क).



152. *च्* is elided; rarely; in E. H. चौबालिस् or चउबालिस् *forty four* (B. चौबालिस्), A. Mg. चोबालीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), for \*Pr. \*चउबन्नालीसा (cf. Ls. 259 on च = य), Skr. चतुश्चत्वाजिंशत्; E. H. छियालिस् *forty six* (cf. § 55), Pr. \*छबन्नालीसा, Skr. षट्चत्वाजिंशत्; E. H. तेतालिस् (O. तेयालिस्), A. Mg. तेबालीसा (H. C. 2, 174 or नियाले Wb. Bh. 425) for \*तेबन्नालीसा, Skr. त्रयश्चत्वाजिंशत्.

*Note:* In composition the *च्* of चतुर and *ष्* (or *ट्*) of षष्ठ (or षट्) are, as a rule, assimilated, but sometimes elided; thus ass. in चउदूह (H. C. 1, 171 for चतुर + दह) or चउवारो (H. C. 1, 171 for चतुर + वार); again छप्पमो (H. C. 2, 77 for षट् + पद) or छमुहो or छमु (Vr. 2, 40. H. C. 1, 25. 30 for षट् + मुख), छगुणो (Ls. 240 for षट् + गुण). But el. in चउगुणो (H. C. 1, 171 for चतुर + गुण) or चउवीसं (H. C. 3, 137 for चतुर + विंशति), चउमुहु (H. C. 4, 331 for चतुर + मुख); again छहत्तरि (छ + हत्तरि for षट् + सप्तति) or छदिसं (Wb. Bh. 426. 234 for षट् + दिशो). Hence the above mentioned num. may be derived from the Pr. forms: चउचत् or (eliding च, see § 101) चउश्चत्; छचत् or छश्चत्; and similarly तिचत् or तिमश्चत् (Skr. त्रिचत्वाजिंशत्).

153. *च्* is elided; sometimes; in E. H. अउ and अन् suff. of *Abstract nouns* for Ap. Pr. अश्चउ or अश्चणु, Pr. अश्चश्च or अश्चणं or अश्चत् or अश्चणं, Skr. त्वम् or त्वनम्; see § 227; E. H. चारि *four* for \*चचारि, A. Mg. चत्तारि (Wb. Bh. 425. H. C. 3, 122), Skr. चत्वारि; E. H. चालिस् *forty*, see § 110. exc.; E. H. बयालिस् *forty two*, A. Mg. बायालीसं (Wb. Bh. 426) for \*बाबन्नालीसं, Skr. द्वाचत्वाजिंशत्; E. H. चबालिस् or चौबालिस् or चउबालिस् *forty four* (cf. § 26) and E. H. छियालिस् *forty six*, see § 152; E. H. सैतलिस् *thirty seven* (O. सइतिश) for सयं or सश्चं, A. Mg. सन्नतीसं (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. सप्तत्रिंशत्; E. H. सैतालिस् *forty seven* for सयं or सश्चं, A. Mg. \*सन्नबन्नालीसं, Skr. सप्तचत्वाजिंशत्; E. H. रोश्चब् or रोश्चब् to weep, Pr. रोत्तब् (H. C. 4, 212. Vr. 8, 55 or रोश्चब् Spt. 258 or Ap. Pr. रोश्चब्), Skr. रोदितव्यम्; E. H. मियौ *friend* (a respectful address), Mg. मिशर or मित्रर (cf. Wb. Bh. 398. Vr. 3, 58), Skr. मित्रकः; or after simplification, in E. H. धाई *wet-nurse*, Pr. धाईया or \*धातिश्या or धत्तिश्या (cf. H. C. 2, 81), Skr. धात्रिका; E. H. दाई *foster-mother, wet-nurse*, Pr. \*दातिश्या or दत्तिश्या, Skr. दात्रिका (lit. giver, scl. of nourishment); E. H. दाउ

*appellation of a father or elder brother* (lit. giver of sustenance), Mg. \*दातुए or \*दत्तुए (cf. H. C. 3, 44), Skr. दातृकः; E. H. भाई *brother*, Mg. \*भातिए or \*भन्निए, and E. H. माई *mother*, Pr. \*मातिन्ना or \*मन्निन्ना, see § 63; E. H. बाय् *he is* for \*बाइ, Pr. वन्नइ, Skr. वर्जते.

154. *प्* is elided; *very rarely*; in E. H. चउआ or चउपा *fourfooted*, Mg. चउपाए or चउप्पाए (see § 152, note), Skr. चतुष्पादः; E. H. चौमन or चउमन् *fifty four* (M. चौपन्), Mg. \*चउपन् or \*चउप्पन् (see § 152, note), Skr. चतुःपञ्चाशत्.

155. *वृ* is elided; *rarely*; optionally in E. H. ऐ *suffix of the oblique infinitive*, for \*अए or \*इए for \*अव्वे or \*इव्वे, Ap. \*इव्वहे (see §§ 308. 365, 6), Pr. इअव्वस्स, Skr. इतव्यस्य; e. g., E. H. चलै or चलवे (cf. § 129) *to go*, Ap. चलिव्वहे, Pr. चलिअव्वस्स, Skr. चलितव्यस्य; E. H. खाये (for \*खाइए) or खाइव्वे or खावे *to eat*, Ap. खाइव्वहे, Pr. खाइअव्वस्स, Skr. खादितव्यस्य.

156. *न्* is elided; *rarely*; in E. H. पैँतिस् *thirty five* (O. पईतिश, B. पवँतिश for पअँ), A. Mg. पन्नतीस or पणतीस (Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. पञ्चत्रिंशत्; E. H. पैँतालिस् *forty five* for पन्नअत्, A. Mg. पन्नचत्तालीसा (Wb. Bh. 425 or पणयालीस), Skr. पञ्चचत्वारिंशत्; E. H. पैँसठि *sixty five*, A. Mg. \*पन्नसट्ठी, Skr. पञ्चषष्टिः.

157. *Affinities*. In P. also, there are a few examples of the elision of a conj.; thus some instances of च् see in § 152, and of त् in § 153; others of न् are, Pr. राई or रत्ती *night*, Skr. रात्रिः (H. C. 2, 88. Vr. 3, 58), but E. H. राति; Pr. काउण *having done* (Vr. 4, 23) for \*कातूण or \*कत्तूण (cf. Vr. 10, 13), Skr. कृत्वा (or \*कृत्वान्), E. H. *deest*; Pr. काअव्वं (Spt. 229) *what is to be done*, Mg. कायव्वं (Wb. Bh. 398) or कादव्वं (Vk. 67) *to be done* for \*कातव्वं or \*कत्तव्वं, Skr. कर्तव्यम्, E. H. *deest* (it forms कर्त्तव्य); Pr. वअस्सअअँ (Spt. A 53) *companionship*, Skr. वयस्यकत्वँ. An instance of क् is Pr. तेलौअँ or तेल्लौक्क *the three worlds* (Vr. 3, 58), Skr. त्रैलोक्यम्, E. H. *deest*; and of ग्, Mg. नियये *devotee* (Wb. Bh. 397) or निग्गये, Skr. निर्गत्यः, E. H. *deest*. See also Wb. Bh. 398. Ls. 273. 274.

#### dd) Miscellaneous.

158. क्, ग्, ण्, क्ख, च् become ऊ, ऊँ, ऊँ, ऊँ, ऊँ respectively; thus क्क in E. H. कंकर *limestone*, Pr. \*कक्करो, Skr. कर्करम्; E. H. कंकरोल

a kind of gourd, Ap. Pr. कक्कुडुल्लु (cf. H. C. 4, 429), Skr. कर्कटः<sup>1)</sup>; again ग्ग in E. H. नंग् naked, A. Mg. नगगे (cf. Wb. Bh. 185. H. C. 2, 78), Skr. नग्नः, and in its derivatives as णंगा, नंगी naked, नंगार् नक़ेदness, etc.; again क्ख in E. H. पंख् wing, A. Mg. पक्खे (cf. Wb. Bh. 427. H. C. 2, 106), Skr. पक्षः, and in its derivatives पंखा, पंखी fan, पंखरी or पंखजे flower-leaf (Ap. पक्खडिम्मा), पंखी bird (from Skr. पक्षिन्)<sup>2)</sup>; again ग्घ in E. H. महंग् high-priced, see § 145. exc. 2; again च्छ in E. H. पंछी bird, Pr. पच्छिन्नो, Skr. पक्षिकः (from पक्षिन् + क), and in its cognates पंछाला tail of a paper-kite (Ap. \*पच्छन्नउत्त) from Skr. पक्ष tail<sup>3)</sup>.

Note: There are instances of this change in Pr.; as Pr. वंक्, Skr. वक्रम्, E. H. बॉक् crooked; Pr. शंसू, Skr. श्रमु, E. H. शॉसू tear; Pr. मंसू, see § 56; Pr. पुंक्, Skr. पुच्छम्, E. H. पूंक् tail; Pr. पंसू, see § 44; Pr. मंजारो, Skr. मार्तारः, E. H. मंजारू cut, etc., see H. C. 1, 26. Vr. 4, 15; but E. H. बिच्छू or बीछू scorpion (M. विंचू) for Pr. बिंछिन्नो or बिंचुन्नो (H. C. 2, 16), Skr. वृश्चिकः.

159. 'स् and 'ह become न्स् and ङ्ङ्; always; thus 'स् in E. H. हन्स् or हांस goose, see p. 29; E. H. मन्स् or माँस् or मास् flesh, see p. 30; E. H. हिन्सा slaughter, see § 39; etc.; again 'ह in E. H. सिंघ्<sup>4)</sup> or सोँघ् lion, see p. 29; E. H. संधारू collection, Pr. संधारो or संहारो (H. C. 1, 264), Skr. संहारः, 'etc.

Note: The change of 'ह to ङ्ङ् is optional in Pr. already, see H. C. 1, 264. As to the spelling of 'ह and 'स्, see §§ 38. 39; and of 'घ् see § 13.

160. ङ्ङ् and च्च become ङ्ङ् and च्च; rarely; thus ङ्ङ् in E. H. कंगाल् (i. e., कङ्गाल्, see § 13) destitute, Mg. \*कंकाले (i. e., कङ्काले, see H. C. 1, 30), Skr. कङ्कालः (lit. skeleton, see Bs. I, 98); E. H. कंगन् bracelet, Pr. कंकणी (Spt. 68), Skr. कङ्कणम्; E. H. पलंग् bed, Mg. पल्लंके (cf. H. C. 2, 68), Skr. पर्यङ्कः; E. H. पलंगरी or पलंगडी small bedstead, Ap. पल्लंकिन्मा, Skr. पर्यङ्किका; E. H. पाँग् or पाँक् mud, see p. 29; E. H.

1) But E. H. ककरी or ककडी cucumber, Pr. कक्कुडिम्मा, Skr. कर्कटिका.

2) Also regularly पाँक्, पाँखा, पाँखी, cf. § 149.

3) पंछी and पंछाला might be corruptions for पुंछी, पुंछाला, from Pr. पुंक्, see note.

पाँगा *salt* (obtained from sea-mud), Mg. पंकए, Skr. पङ्कतः; E. H. पंगति *row* (cf. §§ 102, 2. 138, usually पाँति p. 30), Skr. पङ्क्तिः; E. H. ब्राँगर *high ground*, Ap. वंकउं, Skr. वक्रम् (lit. *curved*); again झ् in E. H. कुञ्जी *key*, Pr. \*कुचिञ्चा, Skr. कुञ्जिका.

161. ल् and न् become ल्ह् and न्ह्; optionally; thus ल् in E. H. काल् or काल्ह् *yesterday or to-morrow*, Pr. कल्लं (H. C. 2, 186. Spt. 46), Skr. कल्यम्; E. H. चील् or चील्ह् *kite*, Mg. चिल्ले, Skr. चिल्लः; E. H. चील्लर् or चील्हर् *louse*, Ap. चिल्लडु, Skr. चिल्लः; E. H. पेल्लर् or पेल्लहर् *testicle*, Ap. पेल्लउं (cf. H. C. 4, 143 पेल्लड), Skr. पेल्लम्, etc. Again न् in Bs. दीना or दीन्ह *given*, A. Mg. दिने (cf. Wb. Bh. 402) or दिषे (H. C. 4, 302), Skr. दत्तः; Bs. कीन् or कीन्ह *done* (Ap. Pr. किन्नु H. C. 4, 329 ?), Skr. कृतः; Bs. लीन् or लीन्ह *taken* for \*लिन्, Skr. लब्धः; E. H. इन् or ऐन् or O. H. ऐन्हि suffix of 3. pers. pl. for \*एन्ति or \*इञ्चन्ति, Pr. इञ्चन्ति, Skr. इतन्ति (see §§ 497, 6. 503); e. g., E. H. पछिन् or पछेन् or O. H. पछेन्हि *they read* for \*पछिञ्चन्ति, Pr. पछिञ्चन्ति, Skr. \*पछितन्ति (denom.); E. H. चरेन् or O. H. चलैन्हि *they walked* for \*चलिञ्चन्ति, Pr. चलिञ्चन्ति (Skr. चलिता भवन्ति), etc.

*Note:* In Pr. पल्लय्यं (H. C. 2, 68) and पल्लय्यं (H. C. 4, 258), Skr. पर्यस्तम्; Pr. एण्हं (Vr. 4, 33) for एणिं (Ls. 129), Skr. इदानोम्.

162. स्प् becomes स्ल्; rarely; as E. H. ग्रिहस्त् *husbandman, householder*, Mg. °हस्ते (cf. H. C. 4, 291), Skr. गृहस्यः (semitats.), and its derivative ग्रिहस्तो *husbandry*.

163. प्ङ् becomes न्दु or न्; rarely; E. H. गन्ना or गन्दा or गाँडा *sugarcane* (lit. *having joints*), Mg. गंउए, Skr. गण्डकः; E. H. गंदेरी or गंडेरी *joint of sugarcane*, Ap. गंडइल्लिञ्चा, Skr. गण्डक°.

164. क्क् becomes न्; very rarely; E. H. कुत्ता *dog* (G. कुत्तर), Ap. कुक्कुल, Skr. कुक्कुरः (usually E. H. कूकर or कुक्कर); and its derivative E. H. कुत्तर puppy.

165. त् and ध् become न् or त् and ह् or ध् respectively; very rarely; thus E. H. निन् or नित्, A. Mg. निन्ने (cf. Wb. Bh. 414), Skr. नित्यः; E. H. मधि, O. H. मडि, Skr. मध्ये; but see § 144.

166. ज् and ज्ञ् become ह् and ग्; always in semitats.; see §§ 36. 37.

## c) CHANGES OF INITIAL SOUNDS.

## a) VOWELS.

167. अ becomes इ; rarely; E. H. इमली or अमली *tamarind* (cf. § 138), Mg. अमलिन्ना (cf. Wb. Bh. 377), Skr. अम्लिका.

168. आ becomes अ; sometimes; thus E. H. अचारू *teacher*, Skr. आचार्यः (§ 129); E. H. अचार or आचार *conduct*, Skr. आचारः; E. H. अग्या or आग्या *command*, Skr. आज्ञा (all semitats.).

169. ए becomes अ; rarely; E. H. अकेला *solitary*, A. Mg. एक्कल्लए (cf. H. C. 2, 165) or \*एक्किल्लए, Skr. एकलकः.

170. ए becomes इ; sometimes; as E. H. इग्यारह् or ऐग्यारह् *eleven*; इक्वावन् or ऐक्वावन् *fifty one*, see § 135; and other compounds of एक.

171. ए and ओ become ए and ओ respectively; sometimes; thus ए in E. H. एक or ऐक or एक *one*, Mg. एक्के (Wb. Bh. 424), Skr. एकः; E. H. यह् or ऐह् (or ई) *he, this*, Ap. एह or एहु (H. C. 4, 362), Skr. ईदृशः; again ओ in E. H. वह् or ओह् (or उ) *he, that*, Ap. \*एवैह् or \*एवेहु (see § 438, 1. 5), Skr. \*एवादृशः (= एवंविधः); E. H. वनइस् or ओनइस् *nineteen*, see § 123; and other compounds of उन; cf. § 98.

172. अ is elided; sometimes; thus E. H. भीतर *within*, A. Mg. अभिन्तरं (Wb. Bh. 206), Skr. अभ्यन्तरम्; E. H. भीतै *he is afflicted with grief*, Pr. \*अभिन्तइ, Skr. अभ्यर्षते (pass. of अर्ष); E. H. भीतै *he is wet*, Pr. \*अभिन्तइ, Skr. अभ्यादूयते (denom. of आर्द्र *wet*); E. H. काँड *he sweeps*, Pr. \*अस्कुडुइ, Skr. अधर्दयति (caus. of अर्द्र) or Skr. अध्यादयति (caus. of अर्द्र *roam*, cf. Pr. काँड H. C. 4, 161); E. H. कंगा *upper garment*, A. Mg. अत्तंगए, Skr. अधयङ्गकः; E. H. कंगिया *child's vest*, Pr. अत्तंगिन्ना, Skr. अधयङ्गिका; E. H. रह् or अरह् *water-wheel*; E. H. तीसो *flax*, see §§ 55. 109, note.

Note: Such elisions occur especially in A. Mg.; see Wb. Bh. 405, as रयणी, Skr. अरतिः, etc.

173. उ is elided; sometimes; thus E. H. चाहै *he desires*, see § 145, exc. 2; E. H. बैठै or अइठै *he sits*, Pr. अवविट्ठइ, Skr. \*उपविष्टि

(denom. of उपविष्ट, cf. Ap. Pr. बड़ुड H. C. 4, 444, see § 352); E. H. पै upon, see § 124; E. H. पाथा teacher, see § 144.

'Note: For such elisions in Ap. Mg. see Wb. Bh. 406; e. g., पोसह, Skr. उपवसथ, etc.

### ४) SINGLE CONSONANTS.

174. त् and द् become ट् and ड्; rarely; thus त् in E. H. टूटै or तूटै it breaks, Pr. तुरुड (H. C. 4, 230). Skr. वुट्यति; E. H. टट्टू or तट्टू pony, Mg. \*तट्टुर् (cf. H. C. 3, 44. 1, 131), Skr. तर्तृकः (of R. त्; cf. तुरग horse); E. H. टोक् or टोका (fem.) sectarian mark on the forehead, Skr. तिलकः (masc.), cf. § 125; E. H. होट् or होरू beak for \*टोर, Pr. तोउं (Vr. 1, 20), Skr. तुणउम्. Again द् in E. H. डीट् or दीट् or दीठि sight, see § 43; E. H. डाढी or दाढी beard, Pr. दाढिआ (cf. H. C. 2, 139), Skr. दंष्ट्रिका (also दाढिका); E. H. डाङ् or दाङ् tooth, tusk, Pr. दाढा (H. C. 2, 139), Skr. दंष्ट्रा; E. H. डार or डाल् or डाल् branch (fem.), A. Mg. दाली, Skr. दागी; E. H. डारा or डाला branch, A. Mg. \*दालर् or \*डालर् (cf. H. C. 4, 445. Ap. डालर्), Skr. दाजकः; E. H. डारी or डाली branch, A. Mg. दालिआ, Skr. दाजिका; E. H. डेरू or डेरू or डेवरू or डेवरू one and a half, see § 114.

Note: Instances in Pr. are; Pr. डोला or दोला, Skr. दोला, E. H. डोर or दोर cord, whence E. H. डोला or दोला, डोली or दोली a swing, a dooly, Pr. डोलघो or डोलिआ or द°, Skr. डोलकः or डोलिका; Pr. डडो or दडो, Skr. दग्धः, E. H. डाढा burnt, fire (Skr. दग्धकः?); Pr. डरो or दरो, Skr. दर्ः, E. H. डर or दर fear; Pr. डाहो or दाहो, Skr. दाहः, E. H. डाह malice, jealousy and दाह burning; Pr. डभो or दभो (Wb. Bh. 293), Skr. दर्भः, E. H. डम् kusa-grass; Pr. डसड, Skr. दगति he bites, E. H. डगे; Pr. डटो or दटो, Skr. दटः bitten, oppressed, whence perhaps E. H. डाट threat, डाटै or डाटै he threatens; see H. C. 1, 217. 218; but E. H. दहै it burns, Mg. दहड् (cf. Wb. Bh. 155), Pr. डहड् (H. C. 1, 218), Skr. दहति; E. H. डम् arrogance, Pr. डभो or दभो, Skr. दम्भः.

175. क्, ट्, ड् become ख्, छ्, झ्, respectively; very rarely; thus क् in E. H. खाँसी cough, Pr. कासिआ (or खासिआ? cf. H. C. 1, 181),

Skr. कासिका; E. H. ठोर् *beak* for \*टोर्, see § 174; E. H. ठेक्कना *bug*, Pr. उंकुणाओ (S. C. 1, 3. 130), Skr. मत्कुपाकः.

*Note:* Pr. examples are: खप्परं (H. C. 1, 181), Skr. कर्परम्, E. H. खप्पर *skull, tile*; Pr. खोलओ (H. C. 1, 181), Skr. कोलकः, but E. H. कीला *nail*; again Pr. कुच्छं or चुच्छं or तुच्छं (H. C. 1. 204), Skr. तुच्छम्, E. H. इच्छ *mean*; again Pr. कडिलो or तडिलो (H. C. 1, 194), Skr. तटिलः, E. H. *deest*.

176. भ् becomes ह्; rarely; E. H. हँड् or भँड् *pot*, A. Mg. भँडे (Wb. Bh. 274), Skr. भाण्डः.

*Note:* In Pr. होइ (H. C. 4, 60), Skr. भवति, E. H. होय् *he is*.

177. *Aspiration is transferred*; E. H. म्हैस् or भैस् or महिस् or बहिस् *buffalo*, A. Mg. महिसे, Skr. महिषः, see § 178; E. H. भूखा *hungry* for \*बुहुखा, Mg. बुमुक्खिण् (or भुक्खे Wb. Bh. 290?), Skr. बुमुक्षितः; E. H. भञ्जति or भभूति *ashes of cowdung*, Skr. बिभृतिः (semitats.); E. H. भाप् or भाप् or बाप् *steam*, see § 143; E. H. फृप् or फूप् *flower*, see § 132.

178. स् becomes व्; very rarely; in E. H. बहिस् or महिस् *buffalo*, see § 177. 134. •

• *Note:* In Pr. यम्महो (Vr. 2, 39), Skr. मन्मथः, E. H. *deest*.

179. ल् becomes न्; very rarely; E. H. नोन् or लोन् *salt*, Pr. लोणं (H. C. 1, 171), Skr. लवणम्, see also §§ 31. 111.

*Note:* In Pr. पाहलो, Skr. लाहलः, E. H. नाहर् *tiger*; Pr. पांगलं *plough*, पांगूलं *tail*, Skr. लाङ्गलम्, लाङ्गूलम्, but E. H. लांगल and लांगूल, see H. C. 1, 256.

180. न् becomes ल्; very rarely; E. H. लोल् or नील् *dark-blue* (§ 31), A. Mg. नीले (Wb. Bh. 160. H. C. 3, 32), Skr. नीलः; E. H. लूरी or नूरी *a kind of parrot*; E. H. लीमू or नीमू *lime-tree* (S. लिमु or निमु), see p. 20.

*Note:* In Pr. लिम्बो or निम्बो (H. C. 1, 239), Skr. निम्बः; but E. H. नीम्ब *Nimb-tree*.

181. य् and व् become ज् and ब् respectively; always; thus य् in E. H. जतन् *effort*, Skr. यत्तः (semitats); E. H. जोग् *worthy*, Mg. योगो (cf. Vr. 3, 2), Skr. योग्यः; E. H. जानै *he knows*, Mg. यापाइ (cf. Wb. Bh. 394, note) or यापादि (H. C. 4, 292), Skr. जानाति (see

pg. 22); etc.; again E. H. ब्रात्, see § 143; E. H. ब्रातै or ब्रातै it is sounded, Pr. वस्तइ (H. C. 4, 406), Skr. वयते, etc.; also as initial of the second of a compound; as E. H. पुरबासी citizen, Skr. पुरवासी (semitats); see § 17.

182. स् becomes ह्; very rarely; E. H. होचै or सोचै he sprinkles, see § 149.

Note: In Pr. इत्तवसो (Vr. 2, 41), Skr. सप्पर्णः; E. H. deest.

183. ह् is prefixed; very rarely; E. H. होट् lip, see § 149.

Note: Frequently in S.; as एडो or हेडो so large, ओडो or होडो so large, एतिरो or हेतिरो so many (Tr. 224), एकु or हेकु one (Tr. 157), इति or हिति here (§ 468, a). Sometimes in B. and M., as B. ऐया or हेया here, ओया or होया there (§ 468, a); M. इकडे or हिकडे hither (§ 468, b).

184. Consonants are elided; only in alliterative phrases; thus र् in रोटी ओटी meal (lit. bread, etc.); or ख् in खाना खाना dinner; very commonly प्, as पानी खानी water; आस् पास close by; उलट् पुलट् topsy-turvy; अहतावै पहतावै he repents deeply; etc.

### γ) CONJUNCT CONSONANTS.

185. अ is interpolated; often; thus E. H. नहान् bathing, Ap. Pr. पहाणु (H. C. 4, 399), Skr. स्नानम्; E. H. नहाय् he bathes, Pr. पहाइ (H. C. 4, 14), Skr. स्नाति; E. H. नहाटै he flees, Pr. \*पहरइ, Skr. \*स्रस्तयति (denom. of part. स्रस्त); E. H. परोहन् carriage, Ap. प्रवहणं (cf. H. C. 4, 398) or Pr. पवहणं (Mchh. 109, 18), Skr. प्रवहणम्; E. H. परघट or परगट् manifest, see § 102; E. H. परगास् clearness, Ap. Pr. प्रगास् (cf. H. C. 4, 398), Skr. प्रकाशः; E. H. परगासै he displays, Ap. Pr. प्रगासइ or प्रगासेइ, Skr. प्रकाशयति; E. H. परसन् pleased, Ap. Pr. प्रससु, Skr. प्रसन्नः; E. H. परोहा leathern waterbucket, Ap. Pr. प्रवहउ or प्रवाहउ (cf. H. C. 1, 68). Skr. प्रवहकः or प्रवाहकः; E. H. सराहै he praises, Pr. सलाहइ (cf. H. C. 2, 101), Skr. श्लाघते; E. H. सराहन् praise, Pr. सलाहणं, Skr. श्लाघनम्; E. H. सरैस् glue (lit. adhesion), A. Mg. सिलेसे (cf. H. C. 2, 106), Skr. श्लेषः (or Pers. سريش sirish?); E. H. मलान् faded, Pr. मिलाणं (H. C. 2, 106), Skr. म्लानम्; and in semitats; as E. H. सलोक् verse, Skr. श्लोकः (Pr. सिलोओ H. C. 2, 106).



LS. 183); E. H. परोत्तन् *necessity*, पराग्न Allahābad, पराचित् *penance*, see § 144.

*Note:* In Pr. सलाहा (H. C. 2, 101), Skr. श्लाघा, E. H. सराह् *praise*.

186. इ is interpolated; sometimes; thus E. H. तिरप्न् *fifty three*, Ap. Pr. \*त्रिषसं (cf. H. C. 4, 398), Skr. त्रिषष्ट्यान्; E. H. तिरसठि *sixty three*, Ap. Pr. \*त्रिसट्ठी, Skr. त्रिषष्टिः; E. H. तिरिका or त्रिका *triad*, see § 408; E. H. गिरहन् *eclipse*, Ap. Pr. ग्रहणं, Skr. ग्रहणम्; E. H. पिलही *spleen*, Pr. \*पिलहिन्ना, Skr. प्लीहिका; E. H. गिलानि *fatigue*, Pr. \*गिलाणो (cf. H. C. 2, 106), Skr. ग्लानिः; E. H. तिरिया *woman*, Ap. Pr. \*त्रिन्ना, Skr. त्रिका.

*Note:* In Pr. सिणेहो (Wb. Bh. 405. Ls. 182) or सणेहो or नेहो (H. C. 2, 102), Skr. स्नेहः, E. H. सिनेह् or सनेह् or नेह् *love*; Pr. सिरि (H. C. 2, 104), Skr. श्री, E. H. सिरि *prosperity*; Pr. किरिया (H. C. 2, 104), Skr. क्रिया, E. H. किरिया *oath*; Pr. किलेसो (H. C. 2, 106) *trouble*, see § 58, note.

187. उ is interpolated; rarely; thus E. H. सुमिरन् or सुमर्न् *recollection*, Ap. Pr. सुमरण् (H. C. 4, 426. cf. 4, 74), Skr. स्मरणम्.

188. The first consonant is elided; always; thus E. H. भीतरू *within* for अभीतरू, A. Mg. अभितरू (§ 172), Skr. अभ्यन्तरम्; E. H. भीत्रै, काँहै, कंग्गा, कंगिया, for अभीत्रै, काँहै, कंग्गा, कंगिया, see § 172; E. H. इमा *forgiveness* for \*च्छमा, Skr. क्षमा, see §§ 36. 191; E. H. झाँहै *he desires* for \*च्छाँहै, see § 173.

*Exception.* ग्न् remains, as E. H. ग्गान् *knowledge*, Skr. ज्ञानम्, see § 191; in the *khari bhāshā* optionally also र्न् following a cons., as प्रगद् or परगद् *manifest*, § 185.

*Note:* In Pr. also; as a rule, see H. C. 2, 89. Vr. 3, 50; thus Pr. काणं (H. C. 2, 26), Skr. ध्यानम्; Pr. काओ or धाओ for \*क्काओ or डाओ (H. C. 2, 27), Skr. ध्वजः; Pr. इमा or लमा for \*च्छमा or \*क्लमा (H. C. 2, 18 gives इमा in the sense of *earth* and लमा as *patience* or *forgiveness*; but in E. H., the latter does not exist, and the former means *forgiveness* or *patience*), Skr. क्षमा; Pr. ठाणं or थाणं for \*ट्ठाणं or \*त्थाणं (H. C. 4, 16), Skr. स्थानम्; etc.; but A. Mg. apparently has occasionally ङ्क्; as क्काणं<sup>o</sup> (Wb. Bh. 315. 319),

Skr. ध्यान°; or ङ्कुसिन्ना (Wb. Bh. 295), Skr. अर्धूषित्वा, etc.; see Wb. Bh. 389. 390.

189. The second consonant is elided; only ह्; thus E. H. नाउ barber, A. Mg. पहाविए or नाविए (cf. H. C. 1, 230), Skr. नापितः (or \*स्नापिकः).

Note: In Pr. नेहो (H. C. 2, 102) for \*पहेहो (not for \*सेहो as in H. C. 2, 77), Skr. सेहः, E. H. नेह् love, oil; Pr. निठं (H. C. 2, 109) for \*पिहठं, Skr. सिग्धम्, E. H. deest.

190. अ or इ is prefixed to स् preceding any consonant; only in semitats; thus E. H. अस्तुति or इस्तुति praise, Skr. स्तुतिः; E. H. अस्रान् bathing, Skr. स्नानम्; E. H. अस्नेह् love, Skr. स्नेहः; E. H. इस्त-री woman, Skr. स्त्री; or in foreign words, as E. H. अस्कूल् or इस्कूल् school; E. H. इस्वंन् sponge; etc.

Note: A curiosity is the E. H. अचपल् restless for Skr. चपलः.

191. क्ष् and ज्ञ become छ् and ग्; only in semitats; see §§ 36.37. In tadbh. ज्ञ becomes ज्ञ्; e. g., E. H. ज्ञानी or ज्ञान् sage, Pr. ज्ञाणी (H. C. 2, 83. Vr. 3, 5), Skr. ज्ञानी; but as a semitats. it is E. H. ग्यानी.

## SECOND SECTION. ON SUFFIXES AND ROOTS.

### FIRST CHAPTER. SUFFIXES.

192. The E. H. suffixes may be divided into two great classes, which I shall call the *pleonastic* and the *derivative*. The former are those, by the addition of which the meaning of a noun is not changed, thus पट् and पटा board, अग्नि and अग्निया fire, चाम् and चमरा leather, मीट् and मिठका sweet, etc. The latter are those which change the meaning of a noun. These may be subdivided into two classes; the *primary* and *secondary*. The former are those which are added to (verbal) roots and form primary bases; e. g., R. खा eat, खाउ or खानिहार eater, glutton; हँस् laugh, हँसी laughter; बन् grow, बन्ती growth, etc. The latter are added to the bases

of nouns and form secondary bases; as बूढा *old*, बूढापन् *old age*; हलुक *light*, हलुकई *lightness*; बंगाल् *Bengal*, बंगाली *a man of Bengal*; भेड़ *ram*, भेड़ी *ewe*; etc.

*Note:* The pleon. suff. are called by Pr. gramm. म्नाये or स्वार्थिक (cf. H. C. 2, 164. 429); and the deriv. suff., भवे (cf. H. C. 2, 163). — In Skr., the primary suffixes are called *kṛt* and the secondary *taddhita*. The pleon. suff., as being added to nouns only, would belong to the *taddhita* class.

193. *Affinities.* In Pr. it had already become customary, and is now almost the rule in E. H. (and Gd. generally) to augment verbal roots (called *dhātus* in Skr.) by the denominative suffix ञापि (Pr. ञावि or ञाव, E. H. ञाव् or ञा) and nominal bases (called *prātipādikas* in Skr.) by the pleonastic suffix क (Pr. and E. H. ञ). It is the coalescence of the original (Skr.) *kṛt* or *taddhita* suffixes with this radical or basic increment, that — besides the usual effect of phonetic decay — accounts for the difference, which, in many cases, appears between them and their modern representatives; thus Skr. वृद्धि *growth* from R. वृध् and suff. ति, but E. H. बढ़ति of R. बर्धाप् and suff. ति (cf. § 325); or Skr. उचता *height* from base उच्च and suff. ता, E. H. उच्चाई from base उच्च and suff. इया (= उच्चक-तिका cf. § 223). — Many of the Skr. suffixes, however, have been long since disused both in Pr. and E. H. as *suffixes*; though, of course, they may be met with in E. H. words (especially in *tatsamas*) as *nominal terminations* and variously modified by the effect of phonetic laws; thus the Skr. suff. ति, in E. H. मुनि *sage*, Skr. मुनि; suff. मन् in E. H. कर्म (tats) or काम् (tadbh) for Skr. कर्मन्; suff. त्रि, in E. H. धरती *earth* for Skr. धरित्री; or in E. H. रात् *night*, Skr. रात्रि; etc. These will not be noticed in the following lists. Most of the other Skr. suff., which are still used as such in E. H., are expressly mentioned also by Pr. grammarians.

### 1) PLEONASTIC SUFFIXES.

194. The E. H. pleonastic suff. may be divided into two groups, the elementary forms of which are: 1) क or ञ and 2) उ

or र or ल or न. Their other forms are reduplications or combinations of these.

*First Group.*

195. Set. •

*Masculine.*

1. आ, ई, उ; or इँ.
2. अक्, इक्, उक्; or अक्क, इक्क, उक्क.
3. अका, इका, उका; or अक्का, इक्का, उक्का.
4. अवा, इवा, उवा; or अवॉ, इवॉ, उवॉ.
5. अकवा, इकवा, उकवा; or अक्कवा, इक्कवा, उक्कवा.
6. औवा, इयवा<sup>1)</sup>, उअवा<sup>1)</sup>; or औवॉ, इयवॉ<sup>1)</sup>, उअवॉ<sup>1)</sup>.

*Feminine.*

1. ई, ई, उ; or इँ.
2. अक्, इक्, उक्; or अक्क, इक्क, उक्क.
3. अकी, इकी, उकी; or अक्की, इक्की, उक्की.
4. इया, इया, उवा; or इयॉ, इयॉ, उवॉ.
5. अकिया, इकिया, उकिया; or अक्किया, इक्किया, उक्किया.
6. इयवा<sup>1)</sup>, इयवा<sup>1)</sup>, उअवा<sup>1)</sup>; or इयवॉ<sup>1)</sup>, इयवॉ<sup>1)</sup>, उअवॉ<sup>1)</sup>.

*Note:* Observe in adding these suffixes, that their initial vowel always supersedes the final vowel of the word. A long antepenultimate is shortened (see § 25). The semivowels य् and व् may or may not be inserted after इ, उ and औ (cf. § 28); e. g., उवा or उआ, इया or इआ.

196. The first set may be added to either subst. or adj. The forms thus made I shall call their *strong forms*; those without the suff. their *weak forms*. The suff. आ (m.), ई (f.) are added to nouns in अ (*quiescent*). As to adj., all may take them; thus म. सौच् or सौच्ना *true*; f. सौच् or सौचो; or म. मोट् or मोठ्ना *sweet*, f. मोट् or मोठी; but the strong form is generally used with fem., while with masc. the weak form is rather the more common. In the case of subst., the usage is more or less fixed; some occurring only in the

1) Sometimes pronounced ईवा, उवा or ईवॉ, उवॉ; contracted like औवा for \*अववा § 203; and see §§ 83. 84. exc.

weak form, others only in the strong, while many again may be used in both; on the whole those in the weak form preponderate in E. H., as compared with W. H. Thus m. घर *house* (not घर), f. बात *event* (not बात); m. घोरा (or घोडा) *horse*, + f. घोरी *mare* (not घोर); but m. पट् or पटा *board*, f. भेड़ or भेड़ी *sheep*, etc. The suff. ई and उ (both *gen. com.*) are added to nouns in इ and उ respectively; but in most cases, at present, only one of the two forms exists. Thus adj. occur only in the strong form, as भारी *heavy*, गर *heavy*, हल् *light*, slow (not भारि, गर, हलु). Subst. as a rule, have either the one or the other; e. g., माली *gardener*, हाथी *elephant*, बालू *sand* (not मालि, हाथि, बालु); on the other hand अग्नि *fire*, मुनि *sage*, गुरु *teacher* (not अग्नी, मुनी, गुरु). There are, however, a few examples of the existence of both forms; as ज्ञानि or ज्ञानो *sage*, बहिनि or बहिनी *sister*, पतोहु or पतोहू *son's wife*, etc. See also §§ 42—53.

197. The suffix इडँ (*com. gen.*) can be added to adj. in ई only; as m. f. भारी or भरिडँ *heavy*. The form in इडँ I shall call the, *uncontracted*, that in ई the *contracted*.

198. The second, third and fifth sets can be added to adj. of the weak form only. The forms made by the two former I shall call their long forms. Those in का, की or क्का, क्की contain the suff. का, ई of the first set and are therefore strong, while those in क् or क्क् are weak. As a rule, the strong long forms only are used in E. H. Thus m. मिठ-का or मिठक्का, f. मिठ-की or मिठक्की, of मोट् *sweet*; झोट-का, झोट-की or झोटक्का, झोटक्की, of झोट् *small*; भरि-का, भरि-की or भरिक्का, भरिक्की *heavy*, of \*भारि (only used in the strong form भारी, § 196); हलुक् or हलुक्क् (*gen. com.*) or हलुका, हलुकी or हलुक्का, हलुक्की *light*, of \*हलु (only in the strong form हल् § 196). In a few cases the long form alone exists; as तनिक् or तनिका *small*, of \*तनु (see § 61); रचिक् *small*. As to the forms in चकवा, etc. of the fifth set, see § 199.

*Exception.* There are a few subst. with the suff. क्, का, as भिङ्गक् *beggar* beside भिङ्ग; बालक् (or बालका) *child* beside बाल and बाला; झोकरा *boy*, झोकरी *girl* beside झोरा, झोरी, from \*झोक् or

\***झे**° (= Skr. शव°, 'Pr. शव° Vr. 2, 41) with the pleon. suff. रा, री superadded. — Such nouns as लरिका *boy* (H. H. लउका), बैठिका or बैठिक् *seat* (H. H. बैठक्), etc. contain not the pleonastic, but the derivative suff. का (see §§ 252. 334).

*Note:* The forms in क्का, क्की have the accent on the syllable immediately preceding it; as मिठक्का *mīṭhākkā*, भरिक्का *bharikkā*, हलुक्की *halūkkī*; but the others on the first syllable; as हलुक्क *hālukk*, हलुका *hālukā*, छोटा-की *chhōṭīkī*, etc.

199. The fourth set may be added 1) to any subst. of the weak form, 2) to any adj. of the weak long form; in the latter case resulting in the fifth set. The forms thus made will be called, in the case of subst., their *long*, in the case of adj., their *redundant* forms. The suff. अवा (m.), इया (f.) are added to nouns in अ, and the suff. इया and उवा (both gen. com.) to nouns in इ and उ respectively. Thus, *subst.*, m. घर or घर-वा *house*; f. बात् or बतिया *event*; m. घोरा (wk. f. घोर्) or घोर्-वा *horse*; f. घोरी (wk. f. घोर्) or घोर्-िया *mare*; m. माली (wk. f. मालि) or मलिया *gardener*; f. बालू (wk. f. \*बालु) or बलुवा *sand*; f. आगि or अगिया *fire*; m. गुरु or गुरु-वा *teacher*, etc. Again *adj.*, m. हलुक् or हलुकवा *light*; f. हलुक् or हलुकिया; m. छोटा-का (wk. f. छोटक्) or छोटा-कवा *small*; f. छोटा-क्की (wk. f. छोटाक्की) or छोटा-क्किया.

*Note:* Bs. II, 40 and Bates H. Dict. 67 give the form उअ for अवा; and Bates 58. इअ for इया. If these be not merely inaccurate spellings, they must be considered as local peculiarities.

200. The sixth set can only be added to subst. of the weak form. The forms thus made, I shall call their *redundant* forms. The suff. m. औवा, f. इया (or ईवा) are added to subst. in अ, and c. g. इया and उअवा (or ऊवा) to subst. in इ and उ respectively. Thus m. घर or घरौवा *house*; f. बात् or बतिया (or बनोवा) *event*; m. घोरा (wk. f. घोर्) or घोर्-वा *horse*; f. घोरी (wk. f. \*घोर्) or घोर्-िया *mare*; m. माली (wk. f. \*मालि) or मलिया (or मलीवा) *gardener*; f. बालू (wk. f. \*बालु) or बलुअवा (or बलूवा) *sand*; f. आगि or अगिया *fire*; m. गुरु or गुरुअवा *teacher*. The suff. औवा and उअवा may be con-

tracted to औ; e. g.; घोरीवा or घोरी; बलुअवा or बलौ. The suff. औवा may be also contracted into अउ; as घोरीवा or घोर्अ.

*Note:* The contracted suff. औ always takes the accent; as घोरी *ghōraú*, not *ghórau*.

201. All these suff. are, generally speaking, very commonly employed. The sixth set, however, is very vulgar. As a rule, they change in no way the meaning of the word. Occasionally, those of the fourth and sixth sets may imply contempt or affection or smallness, and those of the second and third sets the comparative degree (see § 388).

202. *Affinitics.* The existence of these sets of pleonast. suff. in the various Gd. languages has been hitherto but little observed by grammarians; if, at least, we exclude the first, which is very common in them all. It consists, in E. and S. Gd., of आ, ई and ऊ; in N. and W. Gd. of ओ (or औ), ई and ऊ; see §§ 49—54. As to the others, I have not been able to learn whether or not they exist in N. and W. Gd.; excepting the W. H. In this latter and in E. and S. Gd., some of them certainly do occur; whether or not all do, it is impossible to say at present. The fourth set is in B. (m.) आ, ए, ओ contracted for E. H. अवा, इया, उआ; as B. रामा, E. H. रमन्वा *Rám*; B. हरे, E. H. हरिया *Hari*; B. संभो, E. H. संभुआ *Sambhú*; (f.) B. ई contracted for E. H. इया; as B. राधी, E. H. रधिया *Rádhá*, etc. There are, however, many anomalies<sup>1)</sup>. See S. Ch. 71. 72. In M. the fourth set has (m.) अया\* for E. H. अवा and (f.) ई for E. H. इया; as M. राम्या (for रमन्वा cf. § 6, note), E. H. रमन्वा *Rám*; Mg. दुर्गी, E. H. दुर्गिया *Durgá*. See my V<sup>th</sup> Essay on Gd. Gramm. in J. B. A. S. XLIII, 36. The W. H. has अया, ऐया, अई, ऐ for E. H. अवा, औवा, अउ, औ of the fourth and sixth sets respectively; e. g., W. H. कन्हया, कन्हैया, कन्हई, कन्है *krishṇa*<sup>2)</sup>;

1) E. g., sometimes ई migrates into the preceding syllable, as in B. काशे or केशे for E. H. कसिया *káśi* (abbreviated for *káśináth*).

2) By way of illustration compare तलैया *pond* = Mg. तलायये = Skr. तडाकक: of तडाक, with कन्हैया = Mg. कण्हयये = Skr. \*कृष्णकक: of कृष्ण.

गडिया, गडैया, गडई, गडै *pit*; etc. In H. H. these pleonastic forms, being more or less vulgar, are not usually employed; but there are a few exceptions, such as बडवा *calf*, कडवा or कडुवा *bitter*; etc. •

203. *Derivation.* The original of all these suff. is the suff. क which is sometimes employed in Skr. to form diminutives, as पुत्रक: *little son*, but is more often merely pleonastic. In Pr. it is still more extensively used in the latter way; see Vr. 4, 25 in Cw. 140. H. C. 2, 164. Ls. 258. Wb. Spt. 69. 70; especially in the Ap. Pr.; see H. C. 4, 429. 430. Ls. 341. 475. E. H. employs it, in some cases (cf. § 204), even more frequently than Pr. In the latter the suff. क generally becomes ख, but sometimes remains unaltered. The latter is especially the case in Ps. Pr. (cf. H. C. 2, 164), in Sr. and Mg. Pr. (K. I. 12, 1 in Ls. Ap. 50. cf. Ls. 378. 396), and in Ap. Pr. (K. I. 13, 3 in Ls. 449. 457). The Mg. Pr., moreover, — particularly in its lower types — has not only a tendency to retain क, but even to prolong the preceding vowel<sup>1)</sup>, thus making the suff. खाक, ईक, उक Md. 12, 16; cf. Wb. Bh. 348. Ls. 431)<sup>2)</sup>. In one case, Mg. shortens the preceding अ and \*compensates it by doubling क; viz. in हउक्के *heart* (Md. 12, 13. Vr. 11, 6. K. I. 11, 3 in Ls. 393), for \*हउके, Skr. हृदयकम्, Ps. हितखकं (Vr. 10, 14) or हितपकं (H. C. 4, 310), but Mh. हिनयखं (cf. H. C. 2, 164). Further the suff. क is sometimes *reduplicated* in Pr., thus making it खख (for कक, H. C. 2, 164. 4, 430)<sup>3)</sup> or in Mg. कख or खकिय,

1) Thus in the Mchh. the Mg. form केलक is much more common than its alternative केलख. It may be remarked, that since the natural tendency in Pr. is to elide hard consonants, the effort to retain them would tend either to their being doubled or to the lengthening of the preceding vowel.

2) Md. 12, 16 कं दीर्घो वा । कप्रत्यये परे पूर्वो दीर्घो वा स्यात् ॥ i. e. „the vowel preceding the suff. क may optionally be long“. The MS. reads पूर्वादीर्घो (?); the example is: लाउसाके । लाउपाके (?).

3) The example in H. C. 2, 164 is बहुखयं, E. H. बहुखवा.



ईकञ्, उकञ्. Thus in Mg. the suff. क may have the following forms (in the nom. sing. incl. final of base): 1) अए, इए, उए by elision of क्; 2) अके, इके, उके or आके, ईके, ऊके by retaining क्; 3) अकए, इकए, उकए or आकए, ईकए, ऊकए by reduplicating the suff. and retaining क्; 4) अअए, इअए, उअए by reduplicating the suff. and eliding क्. In E. H., the first Pr. set is either *contracted* to आ, ई, उ (cf. §§ 47. 49. 98, exc.), or *separated* (by inserting ए or व् § 69) into अवा, इवा, उवा<sup>1</sup>); the result being the 1<sup>st</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> E. H. sets. Exceptionally the Pr. hiatus is retained in E. H. इङ्, which is apparently the same as the Ap. Pr. termination इङ. The second Pr. set becomes in E. H. either अक्, इक्, उक् (cf. § 45) or अक्क, इक्क, उक्क by doubling क् and shortening the preceding vowel; thus forming the E. H. 2<sup>nd</sup> set. The third Pr. set again is in E. H. either *contracted* to अका, इका, उका and अक्का, इक्का, उक्का, or *separated* into अकवा, इकवा, उकवा and अक्कवा, इक्कवा, उक्कवा; thus producing the E. H. 3<sup>d</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> sets. Finally the fourth Pr. set becomes in E. H. औवा (contracted for \*अव-वा, cf. § 34), इवा (or इअवा or contr. ईवा § 83, exc.), उअवा (or उववा or contr. उवा § 84, exc.) by inserting ए or व्; thus constituting the E. H. 6<sup>th</sup> set. E. g., Skr. घोटकः *horse*, Mg. घोउए or (gen.) धीउअह (§ 369, 2), E. H. घोरा or घोर्-वा; Skr. \*घोटककः, Mg. (gen.) घोउअअह, E. H. घोर्वा (for \*घोरवा); or Skr. मिष्टकः *sweet*, Mg. मिट्टए or मिट्टके or मिट्टाके, E. H. मीठा or मिठक् or मिठक्क; Skr. \*मिष्टककः, Mg. मिट्टकए or मिट्टाकए, E. H. मिठका or मिठका or मिठकवा or मिठक्कवा; etc. Similarly in the feminine: 1) Pr. इअ and उअ = H. H. ई and ऊ (§ 51) or इवा and उवा; 2) Pr. \*अकी, \*इकी, \*उकी<sup>2</sup>) or आकी, ईकी, ऊकी = E. H. अक्, इक्, उक् or अक्क, इक्क, उक्क (§ 43); 3) Pr. अकिया, इकिया, उकिया or आकिया, ईकिया, ऊकिया = E. H. अकी, इकी, उकी or अक्की, इक्की, उक्की or अकिया, इकिया, उकिया or अक्किया, इक्किया, उक्किया; 4) Pr. \*इअअ, \*उअअ<sup>3</sup>), (= \*इका, \*उका) = E. H. इवा, उअवा (or उववा). Thus Skr.

1) For an explanation of the final आ of these forms see §§ 365, 1. 369, 2.

2) When क् is retained or the suff. reduplicated, the fem. appears to have been formed irregularly.

मृत्तिका *earth*, Mg. मृट्मिन्ना (cf. H. C. 2, 29), E. H. माटी or मटिया; Skr. \*मृत्तिका, Mg. मृट्मिन्ना, E. H. मटियवा; or Skr. मिट्टा or मिट्टिका *sweet*, Mg. मिट्टा or मिट्टिन्ना, E. H. मोट् or मोठी or मिठिया; Skr. \*मिट्टिकी, Mg. मिट्टिकी or मिट्टाकी, E. H. मिठक् or मिठक्की; Skr. \*मिट्टिका, Mg. मिट्टिन्ना or मिट्टाकिन्ना, E. H. मिठकी or मिठक्की or मिठकिया or मिठक्किया; etc.

204. *Origin.* The original of the suff. क I am inclined to believe to be the past part. pass. कृत *done* for the following reason. There are two main elements क and उ or ल. Each of them exists in a twofold use, as a pleonastic or a derivative suffix. It will be shown, that the latter (उ or ल) in its two uses is essentially the same element and has the same origin (Skr. दृष्ट), see §§ 218. 244. 248. 251. The same, probably, is true of the former (क) also. It will be shown in §§ 280. 338 that the suff. क — as a derivative one, at least — has originated from the part. कृत; and in § 377, that the genitive affix क has the same origin.

205. *Origin of the pleonastic forms.* Skr. possesses bases in अ, इ and उ. The declension of the bases in इ and उ is intricate; at least, as they form a very small minority, it was much less familiar, than that of the अ-bases. Hence the custom sprang up in Pr., of adding the suff. क to the इ- and उ-bases, in order to turn them into अ-bases; and from habit, it was extended to the अ-bases themselves; thus tending to produce a uniform kind of declension. We shall observe (§ 347) a similar levelling tendency of Pr. in regard to the treatment of the verbal roots whereby the diversity of the Skr. conjugation was reduced to a uniform pattern. In E. H., this uniformity of declension has become an established fact. In the meanwhile, however, the result of the Pr. habit of adding the suff. क was, to produce a double set of forms of the same meaning; the *weak* forms in ए, ई, ऊ, and the *strong* in (Mg.) अए, इए, उए. This must have been felt to be inconvenient. In Gd., therefore, the custom grew up of using only one set; and in the struggle for existence, thus ensuing between the two

sets, the hardier one (i. e., that of the *strong* forms), will naturally survive. The tendency to extinction of the weak forms is, indeed, unmistakeable in Gd. In E. and W. H., the weak forms in इ and उ (probably from having suffered longest the addition of the suff. क) are altogether extinct in adj., and, to a considerable extent, in subst. also. The case of the weak form in अ, in W. H., is not very different from this. But the E. H. has more nearly preserved the older, i. e. Pr., stage, particularly in regard to adj.; though it also shows signs of the same general tendency, in preferring strong fem. in ई and strong long forms in का, की (see §§ 196. 198). — Another reason for the frequent addition of the suff. क in Pr. was its preference (common to all popular languages) for the use of diminutives. This habit continued in Gd., in whose more uncultivated forms, like the E. H., it is very marked. But as the Pr. strong (or diminutive) forms in अर्, इर्, उर्, in their contracted Gd. forms अ, ई, उ, had been generally substituted in Gd. in the place of the (more or less) extinct Pr. weak (or non-diminutive) forms, Gd. was obliged to distinguish its diminutive (but, in vulgar speech, pleonastic) forms by some new device. Accordingly ए and वृ were inserted in the Pr. strong terminations, and thus were produced the long termin. अवा, इवा, उवा of the E. H. The excess of this popular tendency is exhibited in the reduplication of those forms in the redundant terminations औवा, इयवा, उअवा.

● *Second Group.*

206.	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
	1.	अह्	अहा	अही
	2.	आह्	—	—

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others containing the suff. अ, ई of the 1<sup>st</sup> set 1<sup>st</sup> group are strong. As to the way of adding them, see § 195, note.

207. These suff. are sometimes added to adj. or subst. of the weak form: Thus: अह् in गउह् or गउह् *fort*, from गउ *enclosure*; अहा in गउहा (or गउहा), from गउ or गउ *cavity*; m. अउहा, f. औही, from अउ or m. अउहा, f. औही *mad* (W. H. आवल् or आवला); m.

मिरकटहा, f. °ही *feeble* (also मिरकटहा), from मरकट *monkey* (?); again आह् in m. f. बउराह् *mad*.

208. *Derivation.* These suff. are closely allied to those of first group. Their original is the Skr. pleon. suff. क, the क् of which is elided in Pr. and replaced in Gd. by ह् (see § 69). Thus we have in Mg. Pr. (in the nom. sg., and incl. of the final अ of the base) अए (i. e., अकः), in E. H. अह् (for अहे); or adding pleon. अ (= क, i. e., doubling क) we have Mg. m. अअए, E. H. अहा, Mg. f. अइआ, E. H. अही. In Mg. the vowel, preceding क, may be lengthened, m. आके, f. आकी, or (eliding क्) आए, आई; whence, inserting ह्, arises E. H. m. f. आह् (= आहं, आही). E. g., Skr. गर्तकः, Mg. गडुके or गडुए, E. H. गडह् or गडू; Skr. वातुलकः, Mg. वाउलाके or वाउलाए, E. H. वउराह्; or Mg. m. वाउलकके or वाउलअए, E. H. वउराह्, f. Mg. वाउलइआ, E. H. वउरही. By way of illustration compare E. H. घटिहा *inferior, low-priced*, Mg. घटिअए, Skr. घटितकः.

*Third Group.*

209. Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
1) a.	अर or अइ	अरा or अडा	अरी or अडी
b.	— —	अर or अइ	अर or अइ
2)	एर or एइ	एरा or एडा	एरी or एडी
3)	ओर or ओइ	ओरा or ओडा	ओरी or ओडी
4)	अल् or अर्	अला or अरा	अली or अरी
5) a.	एल् or एर्	एला or एरा	एली or एरी
b.	ईल् or ईर्	ईला or ईरा	ईली or ईरी
c.	इल् or इर्	इला or इरा	इली or इरी
6) a.	ओल् or ओर्	ओला or ओरा	ओली or ओरी
b.	उल् or उर्	उला or उरा	उली or उरी
c.	उल् or उर्	उला or उरा	उली or उरी
7) a.	अन्	अना	अनी
b.	उन्	उना	उनी

The forms with इ are properly W. H., and are rarely used in E. H. (see § 29). Most of the forms with ल् may be, and commonly are pronounced with र् (see § 30); some, however, have always ल्, others always र्. All forms of com. gen. are weak, the others con-

taining the pleon. suff. of the 1<sup>st</sup> set 1<sup>st</sup> group are strong. The forms बर or बड़, contracted from Ap. Pr. बउउ = \*बउक, are properly W. H., and occur only exceptionally in E. H. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note.

210. The first set occurs in subst. and adj.; often; thus m. गठर or गठरा, f. ०री, of गाह (or गठा) *bundle*; चमरा, of चाम् *leather*; चीकर (or कीचर), of चीक् (or कीच्) *mud* (cf. § 133); खब्बोर, of खब्बू *glutton*; टुकरा, f. ०री, of टुक (Skr. स्तोक्) *piece*; पटरा, f. ०री, of पट (or पटा) *board*; पलंगरा, f. ०री, of पलंग् *bedstead*; बहरा, f. ०री or m. f. बहर calf, coll. of बह् (or बहा) *young*; भूखर, of भूख् (or भूखा) *hungry*; भूलकर, of भूलक् *forgetful*; मोटरा, of मोट् *bundle*; मेहरार, of मेहर *woman*; etc. Sometimes the original word is disused; as सैकरा *a hundred*, of \*सैक् (A. Mg. सयक्क, Skr. शतक); टोकरा *basket*, of \*टोक्; योर or योरा, f. ०री *little*, of \*थो (Pr. थोच्च, Skr. स्तोक्, cf. § 97); झोकरा or झौरा *boy* and झोकरे or झौरे *girl*, of \*झोक् or \*झो (see § 198 exc.); डेरा, f. डेरी *goat*, of \*डे (Mg. डाय, Skr. डाय); अगारी *front*, of \*अगा (Skr. अग्र); पडारी *back*, of \*पाडा (Skr. पश्च); पहार *mountain* and पहारा, *multiplication-table*, of \*पहा (Skr. प्रथित *extended*, see § 118); etc. See also § 104.

211. The second and third sets occur in subst. and adj.; very rarely; thus बहेरा *coll.*, बहेरी *filly*, of बह् (or बहा) *young*; घनेर or घनेरा, f. ०री, of घन् *much*; गडोरा, of गाड् (or गडा) *pit*.

212. The fourth set occurs in subst. and adj.; often; thus मोटल् or मोटला, f. ०ली, of मोट् (or मोटा) *fat*; नेठरा, f. ०री, of नेट् (or नेठा) *eldest*; रसर, f. ०री, of \*रस्स् or रस्ता *cord*; मुहरा *vanguard*, मुहरी *cuff*, bore of a gun, of मुह् *mouth*; हयल् or हयरी, of हाय् or हया *handle*; सुतला or सुतरा, f. ०री *string*, of सूत् *thread*; परला, f. ०ली, of पार *beyond*; etc. Sometimes the original word is disused; as अगला, f. ली *former*, of \*अग (Skr. अग्र; Ap. Pr. अगलउ H. C. 4, 341); मउली *mother*, of M. माउ, E. H. माई (Skr. मातृ, cf. § 63).

213. The fifth and sixth sets occur in subst. and adj.; rarely; thus the 5<sup>th</sup> set in पतोल or पतौला or पतिला, of पात् *pot*, *pan*; खपरैल्, of खपर (or खपरा) *tile* (see § 175, note); मुरेला, of मोर *peacock*; सपेला, of साप् *snake*; अथेला, of अथ् *one half*; पडला, of पाय् *a quarter*;

अकेला or इकेला, of एक *one, solitary*. The 6<sup>th</sup> set in सपोला, of साप् *snake*; कंकरोला, of ककर (or ककरी) *gourd*; बतोला, of बात् *talk*; बाँसुली or बाँसुरी *flute*, of बाँस् *bamboo* (see § 128); बाँकुरा *swaggerer*, of बाँक् *fop*; etc. Sometimes the original word is disused; as in अगिला *foremost*, of अग (Skr. अग्र); मकेला or मकिला or मकोला *middle*, of \*माक् (Skr. मध्य); पङ्गिल् or ०ला *last*, of \*पाङ् (Skr. पञ्च); पहिल् or ०ला *first* (cf. § 118).

214. The seventh set occurs in pronouns and sometimes in nouns; thus pron. अइसन् *of this kind*, तइसन् *of that kind*; कइसन् *of which kind*, तइसन् *of which kind*, of \*अइस्, \*तइस्, etc.; see §§ 111. 456—458; ऐतना, f. ०नी *this much*, ओतना, f. ०नी *that much*; तेतना, f. ०नी *so much*; केनना, f. ०नी *how much*; जेतना, f. ०नी *as much*, of एत्, तेत्, etc.; see §§ 111. 452—454; आपुन् or आपन् or अपुना or अपना, f. ०नी *own*, of \*आप् (Skr. आत्मोय), see § 111; तवन्, f. तउनी *he, that*; कवन्, f. कउनी *who*; तवन्, f. तउनी *which*, of \*तेव्, \*केव्, \*तेव्, see §§ 106. 438, 2. Again nouns: झोना, f. झौनी *young of an animal*, from \*झौ, see § 210; थुयना, f. ०नी, of थोय् *mouth of an animal*; जामुन्, of जाम् *rose-apple*, see § 111.

215. None of these suff. alter the meaning of the word; though sometimes they restrict it to some particular application; as बङ्ग or बङ्गा is *any young animal*, but बङ्गरा is a *calf* or *colt* and बङ्गेरा a *colt*; मकेली or मकोली a *kind of carriage of middling size*; मिठरी a *particular kind of sweetmeat*; etc. Sometimes, they imply smallness, as मुरेला a *peachick*; सपोला a *young snake*; झँबरी a *wink*, lit. a small आँख् or *eye*. Sometimes, again, they express likeness, in which case they are more properly to be considered derivative suff., see §§ 241. 245; thus तमरा a *certain jewel of copper color* (lit. *like ताम् or copper*); ललरी a *false stone resembling a लाल् or ruby*; पातुर or पतुरा *thin, weak*, lit. *like a पात् or leaf*. Sometimes both; thus पुतरा or पुतला, f. ०री or ०ली *idol, doll*, lit. *a little or like a पूत् son*; चीलर or चील्हर् *louse*, lit. *a small or like a चील् hawk*. — It should be remarked, however, that in the nouns in री or ली which imply smallness, as गठरी, पलंगरी, पटरी, टुकरी, टोकरी, मोटरी, पतीली, सुतली, रसररी, etc. (cf. §§ 210. 213), that quality is denoted by the gender

(cf. §§ 256. 257), not by the suffix; for their corresponding masculines always imply largeness; e. g., गठरा *large bundle*, गठरी *small bundle*, etc.

216. *Affinities.* All Gd. languages possess this group of pleon. suff., see Bs. II, 115—122. As to S., especially, see Tr. 71. 77—79; as to M. see Man. 34. 113. 114. Their forms do not materially differ in any of them from those in use in E. H. But S. has always एरो for एलो; M. has sometimes ह् for उ (§ 217), and S. sometimes उ for ल्, as in लिखंदु *writer* from लिखंदो, but generally लु, as डिठलु *seen* from डिठो (Tr. 71). Here S. uses the pleon. लु or उ to turn part. into adj.; in the same way G. uses लो (Ed. 113) and M. एला (e. g., मेला *part.* or मेलेला *adj. dead*, Man. 63, 2. 64, 2). For the same purpose Mw. uses डो and N. को, though more in the manner of an affix; e. g., Mw. लिख्यो *part.* and लिख्योडो *adj.*, N. लिख्यो or लिखियो *part.* and लिख्याको *adj. written*.

217. *Derivation.* All these pleon. suff. occur in Pr. (H. C. 2, 164. 165. 166. 173); more especially in Mg. Pr. (Wb. Bh. 437) and Ap. Pr. (H. C. 4, 429. 430). Here (in the Ap. Mg.) they have, in the nom. sg. and incl. of the final of the base, the following forms: 1) m. छडे, f. छडी (H. C. 4, 431) or, with the pleon. suff. छ added, m. छडए, f. छडिछा. These change into the first E. H. set, m. f. छड् or छर् and m. छडा or छरा, f. छडी or छरी; e. g., Ap. Mg. गंठडे (Skr. ग्रन्थ H. C. 4, 120), E. H. गठर्; Mg. गंठडए, E. H. गठरा; Mg. गंठडिछा, E. H. गठरी. 2) The same, with the pleon. छ added to the base of the word, m. छछडे, f. छछडी and m. छछडए, f. छछडिछा. These, by inserting ण् (§ 69) and contracting अय to ए (§ 121), result in the E. H. second set, m. f. एड् or एर् and m. एडा or एरा, f. एडी or एरी; or by inserting व् (§ 69) and contracting अव to ओ (§ 122) result in the E. H. third set, m. f. ओड् or ओर् and m. ओडा or ओरा, f. ओडी or ओरी; e. g., Ap. Mg. घणछडे or घणछडे, E. H. घनेर्; Ap. Mg. वच्छछडए or वच्छछडए, E. H. बछेरा; Ap. Mg. वच्छछडिछा or वच्छछडिछा, E. H. बछेरी; again Ap. Mg. गडुछडए or गडुछडए (Skr. गर्त H. C. 2, 35), E. H. गडोरा. 3) Mg. m. छल्ले or छले, f. छल्ली or छली or, with pleon. छ added, m. छल्लए or छलए, f. छल्लिछा

or झलिञ्चा. These produce the E. H. fourth set, m. f. झल् or झर् and m. झला or झरा, f. झली or झरी; thus Mg. नवले *new* (H. C. 2, 165. Skr. नव), E. H. नवल्; Mg. एक्कल्लए (H. C. 2, 165. Skr. एक) *solitary*, E. H. इकला or इकरा; Mg. एक्कलिञ्चा, E. H. इकली or इकरी; again Mg. पोयलए *yellow* (H. C. 2, 173. Skr. पीत), E. H. पीला or पीरा (§ 97); Mg. बंधलए *blind* (H. C. 2, 173. Skr. बन्ध), E. H. बंधला or बंधरा; Mg. पत्तलं *dish* (H. C. 2, 173. Skr. पात्र), E. H. पत्तल् or पत्तर; Mg. बिज्जुलिञ्चा *lightning* (Ls. 2, 194. H. C. 2, 173. Skr. विपुत्), E. H. बिजुली or बिजुरी; Ap. Mg. अगलए *anterior* (cf. H. C. 4, 141. 444. Skr. अग्र), E. H. अगला. 4) Mg. m. इल्ले or इले, f. इल्ली or इली or, with pleon. अ added, m. इल्लए or इलए, f. इल्लिञ्चा or इलिञ्चा. These constitute the E. H. fifth set, m. f. एल् or ईल् or इल् and m. एला or ईला or इला, f. एली or ईली or इली; thus Mg. म. मज्जिल्लए or मज्जिलए *middle* (Wb. Bh. 437. Skr. मध्य), E. H. मकेला or मकिला; Mg. f. मज्जिल्लिञ्चा or मज्जिलिञ्चा, E. H. मकेली or मकिली; Mg. पढमिल्ले (Wb. Bh. 437. Skr. प्रथम), E. H. पहेल् or पहिल् (§ 118); again Mg. तेन्निलए (cf. H. C. 2, 157 see §§ 58. 111), E. H. तेतना, G. तेटलो, S. तेतिरौ; Mg. f. तेन्निलिञ्चा, E. H. तेतनी, G. तेटली, S. तेतिरी; again Mg. पत्तिल्लञ्चं or पत्तिलञ्चं *dish, vessel* (Skr. पात्र), E. H. पतोला or पतिला, etc. 5) Mg. m. उल्ले or उले, f. उल्ली or उली or, with pleon. अ added, m. उल्लए or उलए, f. उल्लिञ्चा or उलिञ्चा. These give rise to the E. H. sixth set, m. f. ओल् or उल् or उल्, and m. ओला or उला or उला, f. ओली or उली or उली; thus Ap. Mg. m. मज्जुल्लए *middle* (Skr. मध्य), E. H. मकोला; Ap. Mg. f. मज्जुल्लिञ्चा, E. H. मकोली; Mg. मुहुल्लञ्चं (cf. H. C. 2, 164. Skr. मुल), E. H. मुहुरा *vanguard*; Mg. हत्थुलिञ्चा (cf. H. C. 2, 164. Skr. हत्त) *handle*, E. H. ह्युरी or ह्यरी; Mg. अप्पुल्ले (see §§ 60. 111), E. H. आपुन् or आपन्; Ap. Mg. तेनुलए (cf. H. C. 4, 435., see §§ 58. 111), E. H. तेतना; etc. 6) with pleon. अ added, m. पाए, f. पािञ्चा, n. पाञ्च. These become the E. H. seventh set, m. ना, f. नी; thus Mg. अप्पपाए (§ 60, note), E. H. अपना; Mg. अप्पपािञ्चा, E. H. अपनी. I believe this is the only example of the pleon. suff. ना in Pr. A comparison with E. H. shows: 1) that the Pr, अप्पपाञ्चं (H. C. 2, 153) stands for \*अप्पपाञ्चं = अप्पुल्लञ्चं (H. C. 2, 163); and 2) that the न् of this set is a substitute for an original ल्



(or ल्), as in E. H. तामुन् (see § 111). Further a comparison of the various sets tends to show, that the Pr. suff. इल्, इल and उल्, उल are modifications of original forms एल and ओल, and that the latter are contractions of अयल and अवल, formed, by the insertion of य् and व्, from अयल and, by the prefixion of the pleon. अ, from the simple suff. यल. The latter (यल) itself is, probably, a mere modification of अउ, through the common interchange of उ and ल (H. C. 1, 202); as shown by the S. विजुडो *lightning* for Pr. विजुली<sup>1</sup>). As to the origin of अउ, see § 218. Of the change of अउ to अड, now almost universal in W. Gd., there are apparently a few examples in Pr.; viz., Pr. दीहर् or दीह् *long* (H. C. 2, 171. Skr. दीर्घ), E. H. दीर् *a long while ago*; Pr. बाहिरं or बाहिं *external* (H. C. 2, 140. of Skr. बहिस्), E. H. m. f. बाहिर, m. बाहिरा, f. ०री. For it should be remembered that the old Pr. र् is a cerebral (= र्, see § 15), not (like the E. H.) a dental. The Skr. suff. ल and र (i. e. ळ), sometimes (espec. in later Skr.) used pleonastically, are, no doubt, identical with the corresponding Pr. ones. — The Skr. pleon. suff. ट (as in कर्कः or कर्कटः or कर्कटकः *crab*, Pr. कक्कडो or कक्कडो, E. H. केँकर or केँकरा) is probably a hardening of the Pr. suff. उ, and adopted into Skr. in the ancient period of the Ps. Pr. With this would seem to agree the fact, that Psh. and, occasionally, S. possess a diminutive suff. ओटै or उटै (Tr. 77. Bs. II, 122). There are a few nouns of apparently similar formation in H.; but they may well be compounds; e. g., चमोटो *a strip of leather* = Skr चर्म + पत्रिका; बाम्हनेटा *young brāhman* = Pr. बम्हण + विदुओ (*brāhman's son*); हिरणोटा *fawn* = हिरण + पुत्र. B. has अटे (S. Ch. 100) and M. ट (Man. 114).

218. *Origin.* The original of these pleon. suff. I believe to be the Skr. suff. (properly a noun) दृष *like*, which is added both to nouns and pronouns. In Pr. it appears as दह; e. g., in एदृहं (H. C. 2, 157) = Skr. ईदृषम् (lit. \*इयादृष. = इयत् + दृष); and in

1) Thus: Skr. मध्यक<sup>०</sup> (or मध्यम<sup>०</sup>), Mg. \*मत्तकअउ = \*मत्तकअले = \*मत्तकयले = \*मत्तकेले = मत्तिकले or मत्तिकले, E. H. मकेल् or मकिल्.

Ap<sup>a</sup> Pr. it occurs as ओ or उ; e. g., in एवओ or एवउ (H. C. 4, 407) = Skr. \*एवाद्वाः (from Ved. ईवत् or Skr. एवम्). These Ap. forms ओ and उ are, evidently, contractions for \*उहो and उहु resp., where उ would easily arise from the Skr. दृ (just as Pr. डृ from Skr. दृ H. C. 2, 36. 37) and °अह्° would be suppressed, as e. g. in S. इते or इत्ये here = Ap. इनेहे (H. C. 4, 436., see §§ 468, a. 469). And the Ap. suff. ओ and उ, being once established, would be treated in their further evolutions precisely as any other suff., and thus produce all the alternative sets, enumerated in § 209. Their initial उ would be (as usual) liable to change to ॡ or ॢ, ल् or ॠ, and न्. In the Gd. pronouns it actually has undergone all these changes; see §§ 104. 105. 106. 438, 2. 4. 454. — In confirmation of this theory, it is to be remarked: 1) that as shown in § 215, the original meaning *like* of the suff. उ or ल may still be traced in some words; 2) that a suff., meaning *like*, would easily come to be used diminutively and thence pleonastically, as may be seen in such English words as *such* and *such-like*, *kind* and *kindly*, or in the German *froh* and *fröhlich*, *krank* and *kränklich*; the intermediate *diminutive* sense is more often preserved in S. and M. (see Bs. II, 117. 118); 3) that such a suff. may easily become a *derivative* one; as in the English *kingly*, i. e., *like a king* or *belonging to a king*, or in the German *tödlich*, i. e., *full of death*, *mortal*, *peinlich*, i. e., *full of pain*. Accordingly, as will be shown in §§ 241. 245. 249., all these pleon. suff. occur also as derivative ones in Pr. and Gd.; 4) that in M. the suff. sometimes have the forms ढा, ढी (for उ, ओ), which have preserved the original ह् of the Ap. Pr. \*हो, \*ही, as in M. तेवढा (Man. 125) for Ap. Pr. तेवउ.

## 2. SECONDARY DERIVATIVE SUFFIXES.

219. The secondary derivative suff. may be divided into eighteen groups. Of these the eleven first consist of suff. which already existed as such in Pr., the remaining seven contain those which have become such in Gd., but were full nouns in Pr.

*First Group.*

220. Set. 1. Fem. *आई*. Set. 2. Fem. *आई*.

Both, containing the suff. *ई* of § 196., are strong forms. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note.

221. These suffixes are used to derive abstract nouns from adjectives. Weak and long forms take the first, strong forms the second set. Thus *आई*, in *हलुआई* *lightness*, of *हलुआ* *light*; *ठंडई* *coldness*, of *ठंड* *cold*; *सधुआई* *simplicity*, of *सधुआ* *simple*; *भरियई* *heaviness*, of *भरिया* *heavy*; etc. Again *आई*, in *भलाई* *goodness*, of *भला* *good*; *बड़ाई* *greatness*, of *बड़ा* *great*; *मिठाई* *sweetness*, of *मीठा* *sweet*; *गोलाई* *roundness*, of *गोला* *round*; etc.

222. *Affinities*. These suff. exist in all Gds., though in M. they appear to be considered as non-indigenous and introduced from Hindī (see Man. 112). As to S. see Tr. 58. In P. the suff. is occasionally added also to the long form of adj. in *आ*, not only (as in E. H.) to that of adj. in *उ*. That long form ends (as in W. H. see § 202) in *अया*, and *अया* is vocalized to *इआ* (cf. § 121); thus *बड़ा* *great*, lg. f. *बड़ाया*, whence *बड़ाआई* *greatness* (see Ld. 13. Ba. II, 79). The *आ* in such forms is anomalous for *अ*, as will be seen by a reference to § 221; unless we suppose the base to have been the redundant, not the long form of the word. W. H. and H. H., too, have the anomalous *आ*; but E. H. has regularly *अ*; e. g., W. H. *गहूआइ*, but E. H. *गहूअई* *heaviness*. The H. H. often superfluously adds *आई* to tats. or semitats., which contain already the identical suff. *ता*; as H. H. *कोमलताई* *comeliness*; *योग्यताई* or *जोगताई* *worthiness*, etc.

223. *Derivation*. The original of these suff. is the Skr. *taddhita ता* (fem.), in Pr. *दा* or *आ* (Vr. 4, 22. H. C. 2, 154). With the pleon. *क* superadded, it is Skr. *तिका*, Pr. *दिआँ* or *इआ* or, incl. of the final *अ* of the base, *अइआ*, and Gd. *आई* (§ 51). And with pleon. *अ* (= *क*) added to the base we have Pr. *अअइआ*, contracted in Gd. *आई*. Thus Skr. *मिष्टता* or \**मिष्टतिका*, Pr. *मिदुइआ*, F. H. *मिठई*; and Skr. \**मिष्टकतिका*, Pr. *मिदुअइआ*, E. H. *मिठाई*; again Skr. \**साधुकतिका*, Pr. *साधुअइआ*, E. H. *सधुअई*; etc. This derivation is

illustrated by E. H. अर्धार्ध *two and a half*, which is contr. from Mg. अर्धार्धार्ध (cf. Wb. Bh. 425. H. C. 1, 101 and § 416), Skr. अर्धतृतीया.

*Second Group.*

224. Set. 1. Masc. अउ or आव्. Set 2. Masc. आन्.

Both sets are weak forms. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note.

225. These suff. are used to derive abstract nouns from a very small number of adj., expressive of dimension; viz., उँचाउ or उँचाव् or उँचान् *height*, of उँचा *high*; गहिराउ or गहिराव् or गहिरान् *depth*, of गहिरा *deep*; ओँडाउ or ओँडाव् or ओँडान् *depth*, of ओँडा *deep*; चोराउ or चोराव् or चोरान् *breadth, width*, of चोरा (H. H. चौडा) *broad, wide*; लम्बाउ or लम्बाव् or लम्बान् *length*, of लम्बा *long*. The forms in आन् are properly and generally masc.; but are sometimes used as fem.

*Note:* There are also the ordinary forms in आई (§ 229); as उँचाई, गहिराई, लम्बाई, etc.

226. *Affinities.* These suff. are not strictly E. H., but introduced from the W. H.; and occur in all W. Gds. See Bs. II, 80. 81. Tr. 59. In S. they are fem., in G. neuter, and in P. masc. The fem. gender in S. is a Gd. formation, like that of the suff. पी, पणी §§ 228. 230. The tendency of abstract nouns is to become fem.; also in Mg. Pr. there is fem. जा or neut. जँ for Skr. neut. त्वम्, see Wb. Bh. 437. S. appears to have occasionally आइणि for अपि, the former of which, probably, stands for अयानि and is to be explained like the P. इआइँ for आई, see § 222. In S. the suff. आनि may be used with any adj. expressing an inherent quality; as अहाणि *whiteness*, कड़ाणि *blackness*, बडाणि *greatness*; etc.

227. *Derivation.* The originals of these suff. are the Skr. (neut.) taddh. त्व or (vedic) त्वन (cf. Wb. Spt. 68. 69). They become in Pr. (nom. sg.) तँ or तपाँ (Vr. 4, 22. H. C. 2, 154) or, incl. of the final अ of the base, अतँ or अतपाँ or (eliding त, see § 153) अतँ or अतपाँ (see Spt. A. 52. त्वत्सत्तत्त्वा = Skr. त्वत्सत्तत्त्वा) or in Ap. Pr. अउ or अतपाँ (cf. H. C. 4, 331). Now the Ap. form अउ or, with pleon. अ added to the base, अअउ contracts in H. to अउ or आव्;

and the Ap. form *अश्रणु* contracts to H. *श्रान्*. E. g., Skr. *उच्चवत्वम्* *height*, Pr. *उच्चन्नं* or *उच्चन्नं*, Ap. *उच्चन्न*, E. H. *उँचाउ* or *उँचाव्*; again Skr. *\*उच्चत्वनम्*, Pr. *उच्चत्तणं* or *उच्चत्तणं*, Ap. *उच्चत्तणु*, E. H. *उँचान्*. S. has, apparently, preserved the *त्* in *मुञ्जितणु*<sup>1)</sup> *duty of a मुञ्जी headman* (Tr. 61), but not in *चोकिराटु* *boyhood*, which is probably a comp. of *चोकर* and *वटु* (Ap. for Skr. *वृत्तम्*).

*Third Group.*

228.	Set.	Masc.	Fem.
	1) a. एषा	b. ए or एषा	—
	2) a. एषन्	b. एन् or एषा	एनी

The suff. in *एषा* and *ई* are strong, the others are weak forms. Those with *एष* are added to weak, those with *ए* to strong bases; but *एषा*, *एनी* to either.

229. These suff. are used to derive abstract nouns from subst. or adj. The forms *एषन्* or *एन्*, however, are those commonly employed. Thus *ए* in *बृथाप्* *old age*, of *बृथा* *old*; *एषा* or *एषा* in *बृथाषा* *old age*, *होटाषा* or *होटाषा* *smallness*, of *होत्* or *होटा* *small*; *मोटाषा* or *मोटाषा* *fatness*, of *मोत्* or *मोटा* *fat*; *रुत्ताषा* *widowhood*, of *रुत्तु* *widow*; etc.; *एषन्* or *एन्* in *बृथाएषन्* or *बृथाएषन्* *greatness* (cf. H. C. 4, 437), of *बृत्* or *बृत्ता* *great*; *सुधाएषन्* *simplicity*, of *सुधा* *simple*; *गरुएषन्* or *गरुएषन्* *heaviness*, of *\*गरु* or *गरु* *heavy*; *बालकएषन्* *childhood*, of *बालक* *child*, etc.; *एषा* or *एनी* in *होटाएषा* *smallness*; *लुचएषा* or *लुचएषा* *profligacy*, of *लुच्* *profligate*; *ज्ञानएषा* *knowingness, knowledge*, of *ज्ञान्* (Skr. *ज्ञानी* § 191) *knowing*; *प्राज्ञेयएषा* *profligacy*, of *प्राज्ञेय* *profligate*, etc.

*Note:* Exceptionally the suff. appears to be added to a verbal root, as in *खुजलाएषन्* *itching*, from *खुजलाव्* *to itch*; but in reality it is added to the noun *\*खुजला* (cf. M. *खज्जरा* Man. 115) *itch*, which, however, is now used only as a fem. *खुजलो*.

230. *Affinities.* These suff. occur in all Gds.; though they seem to be less common in B. and O., than in the others

1) It is more probably the Ap. Pr. suff. *तणु* (see H. C. 4, 422, 20); viz., Ap. *मुञ्जितणु* scl. *वटु*.

(see Bs. II, 73). M. has पण् n., पणा m. (Man. 112); S. प fem., पो m.; पाई f., पी f., पणु m., पणो m. (Tr. 59—61); G. पो m., पण् m., पणु n. (Ed. 14); P. पा m., पुण् or पुणा m. (Ld. 13., e. g., उचक्कपुणा *business of a उचक्का pickpocket*); B. has पन् m., पना or (Bs. II, 71) anomalously पाना; O. has पण् m., पणिन्ना f. (e. g., भौउपणिन्ना *roguery*). B. and O. have more commonly मि (or ञामि); as लुचामि *profligacy*, भौउमि *roguery*, ढिल्लामि *laziness of ढीला*, see Bs. II, 77.

231. *Derivation.* The originals of these suff. are the Skr. (neut.) taddh. त्व or (vedic) त्वन (see § 227). They become in Ap. Pr. (nom. sg.) पं or पणं (H. C. 4, 437. Ls. 460) or, with pleon. अ added, पञ्चं or पणञ्चं. The Ap. पं and पञ्चं become in E. H. प् and प्पा or पा respectively; and the Ap. पणं and पणञ्चं become E. H. पन् or पन् and पना, whence E. H. makes fem. पनी. Thus Skr. वृद्धत्वम्, Ap. वृद्धपं (cf. H. C. 1, 131), E. H. बुढाप; Skr. \*वृद्धत्वकं, Ap. वृद्धपञ्चं, E. H. बुढप्पा or बुढापा; Skr. \*वृद्धत्वनम्, Ap. वृद्धपणं, E. H. बुढपन् or बुढापन्; Skr. \*वृद्धत्वनकम्, Ap. वृद्धपणञ्चं, E. H. बुढापना or बुढापनी; etc. The ञा in the E. H. forms ञाप, ञापन् might be the usual result of the simplification of the conjunct प्त्, but is more likely to be the strong termination of the base, as shown by the M., which changes that ञा to ए, as भलेपण् *goodness* (Man. 112) for E. H. भलापन्; i. e., M. adds पन् to the strong form भले = भल्य = Pr. भल्लञ्च = Skr. भद्रक. In the B. and O. मि the प् has been apparently softened to म्.

#### Fourth Group.

232.      Set.      Com. gen.      Fem.

1) वंत् or वत्      वंती or वती

2) मंत् or मत्      मंती or मती

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others are strong. Strong masc. forms (ac वंता, etc.) do not exist.

233. The weak suff. are used to derive *possessional* adj. from subst. of the weak form. Thus वंत् or वत् in धनवंत् or धनवत् (m. f.) *wealthy*, of धन् *wealth*; भगतवंत् or वत् *faithful*, of भगत् *faith*; सोगवंत् or वत् *sorrowful*, of सोग् *sorrow*; पुनवंत् or वत् *virtuous*, of

पुन् *virtue*; जयवन्त् or वत् *victorious*, of जय् *victory*; मानवन्त् or °वत् *prudent*, of मान् *pride*; भागवन्त् or °वत् *fortunate, excellent*, of भाग् *fortune, excellence*, etc. Again मन्त् or मत् in सिरिमन्त् or सिरिमत् (m. f.) *excellent*, of सिरि *excellence*; हनुमन्त् or °मत् *monkey*, of हनु *jaw*; भक्तिमन्त् or °मत् *devoted*, of भक्ति *devotion*; पुनमन्त् or °मत् *virtuous*, of पुन् *virtue*; etc.

234. The strong fem. suff. are commonly used to derive abstract nouns from their respective possessional adj., as धनवन्ती *wealthiness*, of धनवन्त् *wealthy*; सोचवन्ती *thoughtfulness*, of सोचवन्त् *thoughtful*, of सोच् *thought*, etc.; see §§ 256. 257.

235. *Affinities*. These suff. exist in all Gds., exc. S. See Bs. II, 106. As to M. see Man. 114. H. H. and the H. Gds. generally are fond of using the tats. forms, m. वान्, f. वती; as रूपवान् *beautiful*, f. रूपवती; धनवान् *wealthy*, f. धनवती; दयावान् *merciful*, f. दयावती, etc. In E. H., however, as distinguished from H. H., the tats. forms do not occur, except in a few proper names, as भगवान् *God*, भगवती *the goddess Gaudī*, etc.; हनुमान् *the monkey-god*, etc. S. has the suff. वानु m., वानी f. (Tr. 76. 99), as m. सोलवान्, f. सोलवानी, E. H. m. f. सोलवन्त् or °वत्; H. H. m. सोलवान्, f. सोलवती *amiable*. This S. form has in exceptional cases crept into the other Gds.; as H., M., G. गाडीवान् or गाडीवान् *coachman* (see Man. 113. Ed. 14).

236. *Derivation*. The originals of these suff. are the Skr. taddh. वत् and मत्, which become in Pr. वन्त and मन्त (Vr. 4, 35. H. C. 2, 159). Whence in the Mg. nom. sg. m. वन्ते and मन्ते, f. वन्ती and मन्ती; in E. H. m. f. वन्त् and मन्त् (§§ 43. 45) or वत् and मत् (§§ 143. 146). Or with pleon. अ added, in Mg. f. वन्तिश्चा and मन्तिश्चा, E. H. वन्ती and मन्ती or वती and मती (§ 51). Thus Skr. m. धनवान्, Mg. धपावन्ते, E. H. धनवन्त् or °वत्; Skr. f. धनवती, Mg. धपावन्ती, E. H. धनवन्त् or °वत्; again Skr. f. \*धनवतिका, Mg. धपावन्तिश्चा, E. H. धनवन्ती or °वती (scl. वृत्ति *condition*). The S. वानु, f. वानी, though, probably, ultimately connected with the Skr. suff., are independent of the Pr. m. वन्तो, f. वन्ती; for they exist also in Pers., and there are no forms मान्, मानी in S., corresponding to Pr. मन्तो, मन्ती.

*Fifth Group.*

237. Set. 1) Com. gen. **आइत्** (§ 82). Masc. **अइता** or **ऐता**.

Fem. **अइती** or **ऐती** (§§ 25. 77)

The suff. of com. gen. is a weak, the others are strong forms.

238. These suff. occur only with a very few subst. from which they are used to derive possessional adj.; and from the latter abstract nouns are derived by means of the fem. strong form (see § 257). Thus **ढलाइत्** *shield-bearer*, **ढलइती** or **ढलैती** *office of sh.*, from **ढल्** *shield*; **बर्काइत्** *spearsman*, of **बर्का** *spear*; **कड्वाइत्** *warrior-bard*, of **खड्वा** *war-song*; **लिंगाइत्** *a ling-worshipper*, of **लिंगे** *phallus*; **चर्चाइत्** *talker*, of **चर्चा** *talk*; **नताइत्** *kinsman*, of **नाता** *kin*; **कराइत्** or **करइता** or **करैता** *the name of a very poisonous snake*, of **कारा** or **काला** *black*; **उकाइत्** *robber* and **उकइती** or **उकैती** *profession of robbery*, of **उका** *robbery*; **बहुताइत्** (fem.) *abundance*, of **बहुत्** *much*.

239. *Affinities.* These suff. are properly W. Gd., more especially S., whence they have exceptionally passed (mostly in technical terms) into the other Gds. In S they are: 1) m. **एतो**, f. **एती** (for \***अइतो**, \***अइती**) added to weak bases, as **पुट्रेतो** *having a son*, of **पुट्र** *son* (base **पुट्र**, Skr. **पुत्र**); and 2) m. **आइतो**, f. **आइती** added to strong bases, as **वाराइतो** *opportunē*, of **वारो** *time* (base **वारा** = **वारश्च**, Skr. **वार्ष**). P. has occasionally the form **ऐत्** or **ऐद्** (see Bs. II, 102).

240. *Derivation.* These suff. may have been originally connected with those of the fourth group. For in Vr. 4, 25. H. C. 2, 159 the Pr. originals **इत्** or **इन्** are mentioned in close connection with **वंत्** and **मन्त्**. The latter, incl. of the final **श्च** of the base, would be **अवंत्** and **अमन्त्** or (eliding **व्** and **म्**) **अवंत्**, or (inserting **य्**. § 69) **अयंत्**, or (vocalizing **य्**, § 121) **अइन्त्**, or (again detaching the **श्च** of the base) **इन्त्**. Thus Pr. **मापाइतो** or **मापाइतो** *proud* (H. C. 2, 159) would be = **मापायंतो** = **मापाअंतो**, **मापावंतो** = Skr. **मानवान्**. With pleon. **श्च** added to the suff., they are Pr. m. **अइन्श्चो**, f. **अइन्श्चा**; S. m. **एतो**, f. **एती**. Or with pleon. **श्च** added to the base, Pr. m. **अअइन्तो**, f. **अअइन्ती**, E. H. m. or f. **आइत्**; and with pleon. **श्च** added to both the base and suff., Pr. m. **अअइन्श्चो**, f. **अअइन्श्चा**; S. m. **आइतो**, f. **आइती**; E. H. m. **अइन्ना** or **ऐता**, f. **अइन्ती** or **ऐती**. — There are, however, a few



words of a similar form, such as चङ्गाइत् or चङ्गाइता or चङ्गाइता *rtier*, trooper, दंगाइत् or f. दंगाइती or दंगैती *quarrelsome*, अङ्गाइत् *swaggerer*, etc., which seem to require a different explanation. They are clearly *primary* derivatives of the Rs. चङ्ग *mount*; दाङ्ग *quarrel*, अङ्ग *strut*; viz., probably, part. pres. of the denom. verbs चङ्गाव्, दाङ्गाव्, अङ्गाव् (see §§ 349. 352). The suff. of such part. would be in Skr. आप्यन्, in Pr. आवन्तो or आवन्तो. The latter would change to आचन्तो, आयन्तो, आङ्न्तो or आङ्न्तो, and in Gd. आङ्न्त्. Possibly the first mentioned derivatives, also, are to be explained in this way, as denominative participles, instead of possessional adj. This is the explanation suggested by Ls. 289. 290. It is favored by the fact that both examples in Vr. 4, 25., viz., रोसाङ्न्तो *angry* and पापाङ्न्तो *alive*, end in आङ्न्तो with long *ā*. Those in H. C. 2, 159., viz., कव्वाङ्न्तो *poetical* and मापाङ्न्तो *proud*, indeed, end in अङ्न्तो with *ā*; but this need be no objection; as Pr. may, optionally, shorten the denom. suff. आव् to अव्, see H. C. 4, 37. Wb. Spt. 65.

*Sixth Group.*

241.	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
1)	आल् or आर्	आला or आरा	आलो or आरी	
2)	आल् or आर्	"आल् or आर्	आल् or आर्	

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others are strong. As to the manner of adding them, and the use of the alternative forms with ल् and र्, see § 195, note.

242. These suff. are used to derive possessional adj. from subst. In some cases, the word has been restricted to some particular secondary meaning. Thus the first set in तोद्दाल् or तोद्दार् or m. °रा, f. री *pot-bellied*, of तोद्दु *belly*; रसाल् *sugar-cane* or *mango-tree* (lit. *juicy*), of रस् *juice*; पखाल् f. or पखारा or °ला m. *a large double water-bag of leather carried across a bullock's back, with one half suspended on each side of it* (lit. *two-sided*), of पख *side*; रेताल् *sandy*, of रेत *sand*; दुधार् or दुधाल् *milch-cow*, of दूध *milk* (M. दुधाल्), etc. Again the 2<sup>nd</sup> set in दयाल् or दयाल् m. or f. *merciful*, of दय् (Skr. दया) *mercy*; लजाल् or लजाल् *bashful*, of लाज *shame*; perhaps also कङ्गाल् *quarrelsome* of कङ्गा *quarrel*; but see §§ 308. 312.

*Note:* In some words the suff. is probably pleonastic (cf. § 209), as in मेहर or मेहरारू *woman*; घंड़ी or घंड़िया f. or घंड़ियाल् or घंड़ियार् m. *clock, gong*. In others, where the suff. exists only with रू, it is probably of a different kind, as in चिन्हारू *acquaintance*, etc.; see §§ 272. 273.

243. *Affinities.* These suff. occur only as an exception in the E. Gd. and P., but are very common in S. and W. Gd.; especially the second set. M. has, as a rule, हू, sometimes रू; thus केसाहू or केसाहू *hairy*, खेलाहू *frolisome*, see Man. 114. G. also has हू; as रेतहू or रेतहू *sandy*, S. has लू or रू, like E. H., and sometimes रू (Tr. 66. 69); as धणारू *herdsman*, जवालू (*wheat*) *mixed with barley*; साज्जहू *right-handed*. P. has हू or लू; as उन्नाहू *woollen*, कसाला *distressed*; see Ba. II, 90—94.

244. *Derivation.* The originals of these suff. are the Pr. suff. आल and आलु (Vr. 4, 25. H. C. 2, 159). They occur, however, especially the latter, in Skr. also. The suff. आल becomes in Mg. (nom. sg.) m. आले, f. आली and, with pleon. अ added, m. आलए, f. आलिआ, whence arise the E. H. first set m. or f. आरू or आल् and m. आरारू or आला, f. आरी or आली. E.g., Skr. रसालः, A. Mg. रसाले (cf. H. C. 2, 159), E. H. रसालू or रसारू; Skr. दुग्धाला, Mg. दुग्धाला or °ली, E. H. दुग्धाल or °रू; Skr. \*तुन्दालकः (cf. तुन्दिल M. W. 378, 2), Mg. तोंदालए (cf. H. C. 1, 116), E. H. तोंदारारू; f. Skr. \*तुन्दालिका, Mg. तोंगलिआ, E. H. तोंदारी. The suff. आलु becomes in Mg., nom. sg., m. or f. आलू and, with pleon. अ added, m. आलुए, f. आलुआ, whence the E. H. second set, m. or f. आलु and m. or f. आलू. E.g., Skr. दयालुः, Mg. दयालू (cf. H. C. 2, 159), E. H. दयालु or °रू; Skr. लज्जालुका, Mg. लज्जालुआ (H. C. 2, 159), E. H. लज्जालू or °रू. As to the origin of the suff. आल and आलु, they are probably derivatives of the Skr. suff. दृष् like; see § 251.

#### Seventh Group.

245.	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
1)	अइल् or अइरू	ऐला or ऐरा	ऐली or ऐरी	
2)	इल् or इरू	इला or इरा	इली or इरी	
3)	अउल् or अउरू	औला or औरा	औली or औरी	
4)	उल् or उरू	उला or उरा	उली or उरी	

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others are strong. In the two first sets ल् is commonly used, in the two others र्; for the rest see § 195, note.

246. These suff. are used to derive possessional adj. from subst. Sometimes the word is restricted to some particular meaning. The first and third sets are those commonly used. Thus the 1<sup>st</sup> set in दंगइल् m. or f. *quarrelsome*, of दंगा *quarrel*; गंठैला, f. °ली *knotty*, of गंठ *knot*; पनैला, f. °ली *swampy*, of पानी *water*; पयइल् m. or f., or पयैला, f. °ली *full of stones*, of पय *stone*; उँकैला *having a sting*, of उँक् *sting*; खपरइल् *a tiled house*, of खपर *tile*; बोक्इल् *beast of burden*, of बोक् *load*; दुधइल् *milch-cow*, of दूध *milk*; etc. Again the 2<sup>nd</sup> set in रेतिला, f. ली *sandy*, of रेत *sand*; बोखिल् *loaded*, of बोक् *load*; etc. Again the 3<sup>d</sup> set in पयउर् m. or f., or पयौरा, f. °री *full of stones*, of पय *stone*; उँकउर् m. or f., or उँकोरा, f. °री *having a sting, a wasp*, of उँक् *sting*; रसउर् m. or f., or रसौरा, f. °री *juicy*, of रस् *juice*; घमोरी or घमौली *prickly heat*, of घाम् *warmth*; बकौला *hood* and बकौलो *green caterpillar*, of बाँक् *a bend*; etc. Again the 4<sup>th</sup> set in पातुर *moth*, of पात् (Skr. पत्र) *wing*; पातुर or पतुरी *prostitute*, of पात् (Skr. पात्र) *ves.s.*; पातुर *weak* (H. H. पतला; lit. *leaf-like*), from पात् *leaf*; बाउर् or बउरा, f. °री *mad* (H. H. बावन्ता), of बाष् *wind* (lit. *inflated*). Occasionally, the suff. expresses relation generally, as in बनैला, f. °ली *wild, savage*, of बन *a wood*; घरैला, f. °ली *tame*, of घर *house*; कखोरी or कखौलो *tumour in the armpit*, of काख *armpit*.

247. *Affinities.* These suff. exist in all Gds., but in the W. and S. Gd. they have an initial ए or ई for ऐ, and ओ or उ for औ, and in H. H. also अ for इ or उ. The M., G. and O. have ऋ, and S. often र् for ल्. Thus W. H. एलौ or ईलौ, H. H. एला or ईला or अला, M. एळा or ईळा, G. एळो or ईळो, S. एलो or एरो, ईलो or ईरो, इह (Tr. 67). The interchange of र् and ल्, however, occasionally occurs in all Gds., and, indeed, already in Pr. (see § 248). Thus H. H. गंठैला, W. H. गंठैलो *knotty*; W. H. घमौली, M. घमोळी *prickly heat*; H. H. पतला *thin*, रेतला *sandy*; etc.; further examples see in Bs. II, 95—101.

248. *Derivation.* The originals of these suff. are the Pr.

suff. इल् and उल् (Vr. 4, 5. H. C. 2, 159) or, with the pleon. च added to the base, अइल् and अउल् or, with pleon. च added to the suff., इल्च, अइल्च, उल्च, अउल्च, whence the E. H. suffixal forms regularly arise. Thus E. H. पयर्इल् = A. Mg. पयलइल्; E. H. पयर्इला = A. Mg. पयर्इल्ए; E. H. पयर्उर् = A. Mg. पयलउल्; E. H. पयर्उरा = A. Mg. पयलउल्ए; E. H. पतुरी = A. Mg. पतुलिआ, etc. From the Pr. these suff. were probably adopted into the Skr. as taddh. with one ल्; thus इल् in Skr. ग्रन्थिल *knotty*; उल् or उल in ब्रातुल or ब्रातूल *gouty*; शोल in गण्डोला *raw sugar*, etc. The Pr. taddh. इर् (H. C. 2, 145. Vr. 4, 25), which occurs also in Skr., may, perhaps, be identified with the Pr. इल् (or इल्), by the interchange of ल् and र् (see § 110); in S. it occurs as इर् (see § 247); but E. H. has no suff. इर्, except as an alternative of इल्. — As to the origin of the suff. इल् and उल् (probably from Skr. दृष्ट), see § 251.

• Eighth Group.

249.	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
1)	a.	एर् or एर्	एरा or एरा	एरी or एरी
	b.		एर् or एर्	एर् or एर्
2)	a.	ओर् or ओर्	ओरा or ओरा	ओरी or ओरी
	b.	ओर् or ओर्	ओरा or ओरा	ओरी or ओरी

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others strong. Those with उ are properly W. H. As to the way of adding them, see § 195, note.

250. These suff. are used to derive possessional adj. from subst.; but the derivatives are few in number and always restricted to some particular meaning. Thus the first set, in सपेरा or सपेरा *snake-catcher*, of साप *snake*; कटेरा *palings*, of काँटा *thorn*; पक्केरा *bird*, of पाख् *wing*. The second set in लरकोरा or लरकोरा *parents*, of लरिका *child*; पलोरा *shoulder-blade*, of पाख् *side*; हयोरा or हयोरा *hammer*, of ह्य *handle*; कर्पोरा *tax-gatherer*, of कर *tax*, etc.

251. *Affinities and Derivation.* I believe these suff. and their derivatives are, strictly, W. Gd., and only introduced into the E. H. from the W. H. To this group belong the suff., S. इङ्गो (Tr. 70) and M. आङ्ग (Man. 113); e. g., S. पेङ्गो *walker*, of पैर् or पैर् *foot*, आटाङ्ग *guide*, of आट *way*. — On comparing

this group with the sixth and seventh, it will be seen, that there are, in each, identical suff. containing ल् or क् or ङ्; thus, sixth group, E. H. बालु or बालू, M. बाँक or बाक, S. बाडु or M. बाड; seventh and eighth groups, E. H. ऐला or ऐला or ऐग, M. एका; E. H. ओला, ओग, W. H. ओला or ओग, M. ओका. Further, on comparing these with the third pleonastic group (§ 209), it will be seen that the suffixes in the two classes are identical. Hence it appears probable, that they have the same origin and are derived from the Skr. suff. दृश, as explained in § 218. Skr. दृशकः would, in Ap. Pr., become डिहड, whence, eliding ह् and contracting the hiatus-vowels, the forms ड्यो and ड्या would arise, as contained in S. ड्यो and M. बाड्या. The initial vowels of the latter must be accounted for by the addition of the pleon. अ to the base, just as in pleon. एग, एला, इला, etc. (see § 218). — That the Skr. suff. दृश like would easily lend itself to derive possess. adj., may be seen from the German *peinlich*, i. e., painful, or from the English *lively*, *prickly*, *sprightly* = full of life, pricks, spirit.

*Ninth Group.*

252.	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
	1)	ई	—	इकी
	2)	इक्	इका	इनि or इनी

The suff. इक् and इनि are weak, the others strong forms. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note.

253. These suff. are used to derive adj. expressing, in a general way, possession or relation from subst. The first set is the one commonly used; sometimes in its long form ड्या (see § 199). Thus, 1<sup>st</sup> set in संगी or सघनी *friend, companion*, of सग् or संघत् *companionship*; खारी or कुनही *enemy*, of खार् or कुनह् *enmity*; बकवादी or बतोलिया or बतुनिया *a talkative person*, of बकवाद् or बंतोला *talk*; सुखी *happy*, of सुख् *happiness*; दुखी *miserable*, of दुख् *pain*; धनी *wealthy*, of धम् *wealth*; तेली *oilman*, of तेल् *oil*; माली *gardener*, of माल् or माला *garland*; धोबी *washerman*, of धोत्र् (§ 311) *washing*; हथौटी or हथौटिया *craftsman*, of हथौटी *handicraft*; बहेलिया *huntsman*, of बाह् *shooting*; गडरिया *shepherd*, of गड् *fold*, etc. And हिन्दूई *belonging to*

a *Hindú* of हिन्दू *Hindú*; मराठी *bel. to a Maráthá* of मराठा *Maráthá* (man or country); अंग्रेजी *English* of अंग्रेज़ *Englishman* or *England*, etc. Again the 2<sup>nd</sup> set in धनिक् or धनिका, f. °की *wealthy*, of धन् *wealth*, etc.

254. Derivatives in ई are gen. com., when used adjectively; but when used as subst., they form a fem. in इनि or इनी, on which see the next group (§ 256). Thus बंगाली भाषा *Bangálí language*; बहिरी तिरिया *foreign woman*; but बंगालिनि or बंगालिनी *a woman of Bangál*, बहिरिनि or बहिरिनी *a woman of a foreign country*.

255. *Affinities and Derivation.* These suff. exist in all Gds.; see Bs. II, 83—89., where examples will be found. — The original is the Skr. taddh. suff. इक्; in Mg. (in the nom. sg.) इए or इके (or इक्के § 203. footnote 1) or, with pleon. घ added, इकए; whence E. H. ई or इक् or इका. Thus Skr. धनिकः, Mg. धणिए or धणिके or धनिकए, E. H. धनी or धनिक् or धनिका. Skr. महाराष्ट्रिकः, Mg. मरहट्टिए (cf. H. C. 1, 69. 2, 119), E. H. मराठी (cf. § 32). In the latter and in similar words, the original suff. may also have been the taddh. ईय; practically it makes no difference, as Skr. ईय would be Mg. ईए, E. H. ई. As to the origin of the fem. suff., see §§ 256—262.

#### Tenth Group.

256. Set. 1) Fem. — ई Set. 2) Fem. इनि or इनी

3) „ आइन् or आइनी „ 4) „ — आनी

The suff. इनि and आइन् are weak, the others strong. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note; but observe that the final उ of a base is not elided, but changed to उ; हिन्दुइनि or हिन्दुइनी *a Hindú woman* of हिन्दू *Hindú*.

257. These suff. are used to derive feminine from masc. nouns; and it may be remarked, that, with inanimate objects, the fem. generally expresses diminutiveness, while in many other cases it forms abstract nouns. Thus डंगरी *hillock*, of डंगर *hill*; बूनी *copse*, of बन् *wood*; बाँसी *flute* (lit. *small piece of bamboo*), of बाँस् *bamboo*; गोली *bullet, globule*, of गोला *ball*; डोरी *string* of डोरा *rope*; चोली

*bodice*, of चोला *waistcoat*, etc. Again सोचवंती *thoughtfulness*, of सोचवंत *thoughtful*; रखवारी *guarding or guardianship*, of रखवार *guardian*; ठलैती *shieldbearership*, of ठलाइत *shieldbearer*; चिन्हारी *acquaintance*, of चिन्हार *an acquaintance*; पढ़निहारी *reading or readership*, of पढ़निहार or ०र *reader*; etc.

258. The first set may be used with any adj. or subst. in आ. Thus adj.; सँची *true*, of म. सँचा; बँकी *crooked*, of म. बँका; मोठी *sweet*, of म. मोठा; भूखी *hungry*, of म. भूखा; बड़ी *great*, of म. बड़ा, etc. Or subst., झोरी or झोकरी or लरिंकी *girl*, of झोरा or झोकरा or लरिका *boy*; बेटी *daughter*, of बेटा *son*; काकी *paternal aunt*, of काका *paternal uncle*; नानी *maternal grandmother*, of नाना *mat. grandfather*; बकरी or डेरी *she-goat*, of बकरा or डेरा *he-goat*; घोरी *mare*, of घोरा *horse*; भेड़ी *eve*, of भेड़ा *ram*; कुकरी *hen*, of कुकरा *cock*; etc. Occasionally the corresponding masc. in आ is not in use (cf. § 196); as सोनारी *fem. goldsmith*, of \*सोनारा or सोनार *m.*; चमारी *f. leather-worker*, of \*चमारा or चमार *m.*; कोहारी, *f. potter*, of \*कोहारा or कोहार *m.*; कहारी, *f. porter*, of \*कहारा or कहार *m.*; सुतारी, *f. carpenter*, of \*सुतारा or सुतार *m.*

Note: In a few cases the long form in इया (see § 199) is exclusively used; as in कुत्रिया *fem.*, of कुत्रा *dog*; डिबिया *small box*, of डिबा *box*, बुढिया *old woman*, of बुढा *old man*; but the short forms कुत्री, डिबी, बुढी also occur.

259. The second set can be added only to subst. in अ or ई or उ, expressing animate objects; never to adj., except when used substantively. Thus in अ; persons; सोनारिनी or ०रिनी *f. goldsmith*, of सोनार *m.*; चमारिनी or ०रिनी *f. leather-worker*, of चमार *m.*; गोवाल्लिनी or गुव् or गु० *f. cowherd*, of गोवाल्ल *m.*; घटवाल्लिनी *ferrywoman*, of घटवाल्ल *m.*, etc. Or animals; पतुरिनी *f. moth*, of पतार *m.*; बाघिनी or बघिनी *tigress*, of बाघ *tiger*; सौंघिनी or सिंघिनी *lioness*, of सौंघ *lion*. Again in ई; persons; परोसिनी or ०सिनी *f. neighbour*, of परोसी *m.*; बैरागिनी or ०गिनी *f. ascetic*, of बैरागी; माल्लिनी or ०नी *f. gardener*, of माली *m.*; धोबिनी or ०नी *washerwoman*, of धोबी *m.*; कोळिनी or ०नी *f. leper*, of कोळी, etc. Or animals; हाथिनी or हथिनी *f. elephant*, of हाथी *m.* Again in उ; नडइनी or नडइनी *f. barber*, of

नाइ m.; पहरइनि or नी watchman's wife, of पहर, etc.; see § 256. Occasionally the masc. is not in use, as बहिनि or बहिन् or बहिनी sister (masc. भाई brother).

260. The third and fourth sets are confined to some particular words, as पंठाइन् or नी wife of a पंठा a kind of brāhman; चौब्राइन् woman of the चौब्रे caste; दुब्राइन् woman of the दूब्रे (m.) caste; ठकुराइन् lady of ठकुर lord, chief; चौधराइन् wife of a चौधरी headman; पंडियाइन् wife of a पंडा priest; गुरुआइन् wife of a गुरु teacher; पंडिताइन् wife of a पंडित scholar; बनियाइन् woman of the बनिया trader-caste; पुरोहितानो wife of a पुरोहित family priest.

Note: These suff. are used even with foreign words, as मेहररानी or मेहराइन् wife of a मेहर (pers. معتر) sweeper; सईसिन् wife of a सईस (arab. سائيس) groom. — With names of castes or professions the fem. signifies either the wife of a man of the caste, or any woman of that caste, or any woman following that profession.

261. Affinities. These suff. occur in all Gds. But P. and W. H. have अन् and अनी after nouns in अ; thus E. H. सेठिनि wife of a सेठ merchant, W. H. सेठन्, P. सेठन् or सेठनी, S. सेठिण् or सेठिणि or सेठिणी; but E. H. कोरिनि wife of a कोरी weaver, W. H. कोरिन्, P. कोलिन्, S. कोरिणि or र्णिणी (Tr. 99—102. Ld. 13, 41. 42). M. has ईण् as सेठीण्, कोळीण्, बाघीण् (tigress), see Man. 24. G. has एण् or अण्, as कोळण् or कोळेण्, बाघण् or बाघेण्, धोबण् or धोबेण् (washerwoman), see Ed. 26, 9. B. has इनी or अनी or अनी, as बाघिनी, धोबानी, कामारनी (a fem. blacksmith), see S. Ch. 36. 40. 41. For further examples, see Bs. II, 163—170.

262. Derivation. The original of the E. H. suff. ई is the Skr. taddh. इका, which becomes in Pr. इआ, and is contracted in E. H. to ई, as explained in § 203. It is, in fact, identical with the pleon. fem. ई of the 1<sup>st</sup> set, 1<sup>st</sup> group. — The original of the E. H. second set is the Skr. taddh. इनी or, with pleon. क added, इनिका, in Pr. इणी or इणिआ, E. H. इनि or इनी; thus Skr. base मालिन्, m. माली, Mg. माली, E. H. deest (\*मालि); fem. Skr. मालिनी, Mg. मालिणी, E. H. मालिनि; or with pleon. अ added, Skr. मालिकः



(i. e., मालिन् + क), Mg. मालिर्, E. H. माली; fem. Skr. मालिनीका (i. e., मालिनी + का), Mg. मालिणिन्ना, E. H. मालिनी. It should be observed that, while in the case of the fem. E. H. preserves both the weak form मालिनि and the strong form मालिनी, on the other hand in the masc. it has only the strong form माली, but not a weak form \*माल् or \*मालि (see § 196). Again E. H. सोनार् has two fem., सोनारी and सोनारिनि or र्निनी; the former is = A. Mg. सोसञ्चालिन्ना, Skr. सुवर्णकाजिका fem. of सुवर्णकाजकः pleon. for °काजः; but the latter is = A. Mg. सोसञ्चालिणी or °लिणिन्ना = Skr. सुवर्णकाजिणी or (pleon.) °जिणिका, fem. of सुवर्णकाजी (base °काजिन्). The latter masc. form exists in E. H. only in the weak form सोनार्, not in the strong सोनारी; though E. H. सोनार् might and probably does also stand for the A. Mg. सोसञ्चाले, Skr. सुवर्णकाजः. It is not necessary to assume an anomaly in this and similar words as to the use of the fem. suff. इनि in E. H.; but it appears to be anomalously employed in such words as बाघिनि *tigress* from m. बाघ्, for which fem. form there is no foundation in Skr., which has m. व्याघ्रः, f. व्याघ्री. — The E. H. suff. आइन् arises in various ways. Thus in चौबाइन् it arises from Pr. चउव्वेइणी, Skr. चतुर्वेदिनी; in पाँगाइन् and पंडियाइन् it is added anomalously to पाँगा, पंडिया, Mg. पंडिअर्, Skr. पण्डितकः, etc. — The E. H. suff. आनी is a tats. for Skr. आनी, as in Skr. इन्द्रानी *wife of Indra*. — The E. H. रस्सी *string* is a regular fem. of the E. H. m. रस्सा, which is derived from the Skr. masc. रश्मिः or pleon. रश्मिकः (or रश्मकः of रश्मन्, see M. W. 835, 1); not *vice versa*, the E. H. masc. रस्सा formed from the E. H. fem. रस्सी (as Bs. II, 149), which would be an unique anomaly.

#### *Eleventh Group.*

263. Com. gen. अच्. Masc. आ or अवच्. Fem. अच्.

The form अच् is weak, the others are strong. As to the manner of adding them see § 195, note.

264. These suff. are used to derive ordinal numbers from the cardinals, with the exception of the four first and the sixth, which are formed differently (see §§ 269. 401). Thus m. or f. पंचच्,

m. पचा or पचवाँ, f. पचईँ *fifth*, of पच् five; m. f. दसव् or m. दसा or दसवाँ, f. दसईँ *tenth*, of दस् ten; m. f. बारहव् or m. बारहवाँ, f. बारहईँ *twelfth*, of बारह *twelve*, etc. They are added pleonastically to the following: दुसरा or दुसरव् or दुसरवाँ *second*, of दुइ two; तिसरा or तिसरव् or तिसरवाँ *third*, of तीनि three; चौथा or चौथव् or चौथवाँ *fourth*, of चारि four; इठा or इठव् or इठवाँ *sixth*, of इ six; बीसा or बीसव् or बीसवाँ *twentieth*, of बीस् twenty, etc.

265. *Affinities*. These suff. exist in all Gds., with very slight differences: thus B. m. आ, f. ईँ (S. Ch. 195); M. आवा, f. आवी, n. आवेँ or (from 19<sup>th</sup>) आवा, आवी, आवेँ (Man. 42. 44); H. H. आवँ, f. आवीँ; W. H. आवोँ, f. आवीँ; P. आवँ or अमँ, f. आवीँ or अमीँ (Ld. 82—85); G. (and O. H.) अमो, f. अमी, n. अमुँ (Ed. 48); S. ओँ, f. ईँ; e. g., B. पाचा, f. पाचईँ; M. पाँचवा, f. पाँचवीँ, n. पाँचवेँ, but विसावा, f. विसावीँ, n. विसावेँ *twentieth*; W. H. पाँचवीँ, f. पाँचवीँ; P. पंत्तवाँ or पंत्तमाँ, f. पंत्तवीँ or पंत्तमोँ; G. पाँचमो, f. पाँचमी, n. पाँचमुँ; S. पंत्तोँ, f. पंत्तीँ.

266. *Derivation*. The original of these suff. is the Skr. taddh. म or, with pleon. क added, मक; whence nom. sg. (incl. the final अ of the base) अमकः, f. अमिका, Mg. अमर्, f. अमिआ, Ap. ङ्ग. अवँर्, f. अविँआ (cf. H. C. 4, 397), E. H. अवँ or (contracted, after eliding म् or व्) आ; f. अईँ (cf. §§ 33. 47. 51). Thus Skr. पञ्चमकः, Ap. Mg. पंचमर् or पंचवँर्, E. H. पचा or पचवाँ; f. Skr. पञ्चमिका, Ap. Mg. पंचमिआ or पंचविँआ, E. H. पचईँ. The M. form आवा may be a contraction of the Skr. अतितमकः; e. g., विंशतितमकः, Mg. बीसइँअमर् (cf. Wb. Bh. 476); or it may have arisen by adding the pleon. अ to the base and be = Skr. \*विशकमकः, Mg. \*बीसअमर्. In the latter case the addition of the suff. आवा would be pleonastic, as the Skr. विंश itself means *twentieth*; but so it is in E. H. and all other Gds. in-चौथवाँ, इठवाँ, बीसवाँ, etc., the regular forms being चौथा, इठा, बीसा, etc.

#### *Improper Suffixes.*

267. The suffixes of the following groups are in reality curtailed nouns, and their derivatives modified compounds. This appears from the following facts: 1) that in some cases the base

does not exist in E. H.; e. g., कोहार् *potter* of \*कोह् (Skr. कुम्भ, E. H. कुम्भ); कहार् *porter*, of \*कह् (Skr. स्कन्ध, E. H. काँध); रोआसा *lachrymose*, of \*रोद् (Skr. रोद); 2) that the various suff. (exc. आह्) are, severally, found only in a very small number of words; 3) that the terminations of their derivatives are not recognised as suff., and their etymology in many cases unknown to all but Skr. scholars.

*Twelfth Group.*

268. Com. gen. स् or सर. Masc. सरा. Fem. सरी.

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others strong.

These suff. are extremely rare, and occur only in numerals; thus m. f. दूसर्, m. दूसरा, f. ०री *second* (lit. *twice removed*, i. e., from Nro. 1), of दुइ *two*; m. f. तीसर्, m. तिसरा, f. ०री *third* (lit. *thrice moved*, i. e., from Nro. 1), of तीन् *three*; m. चौस् or चउस् or f. चौसरी *a field four times tilled* (lit. *four times moved or turned*).

270. *Affinities.* This curious formation of the second and third ordinal numbers is confined to the E. and S. Gd. and H. H. The W. Gds. have the regular ordinal forms: O. H. दूसौ or दूसो; P. दूसो or दूस = Pr. दुइज्जओ or दुइज्जओ (H. C. 1, 94, 209); S. बीओ or बीतो, G. बीतो, Pr. बिइज्जओ (H. C. 1, 94) or बीज्जओ (H. C. 1, 248) or बिइज्जओ (H. C. 1, 248); again W. H. तीतो or तीतो, P. तोआ or तीता, S. टीओ or टीतो, G. तीतो, = Pr. तइज्जओ (H. C. 1, 101) or तइज्जओ (cf. H. C. 4, 339). But H. H. and M. दूसरा, तीसरा.

271. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. past part. pass. सृत: *moved*, in A. Mg. सल्लि or सल्लिअ, which in Gd. becomes सर by the successive quiescence of the final अ and इ (cf. §§ 45. 302), and स् by the elision of र (cf. § 124). Similarly the E. H. सरा is = A. Mg. सल्लिअ, Skr. सृतक:; and f. सरी = A. Mg. सल्लिइआ, Skr. सृत्तिका. E. g., Skr. \*द्विस्सृत: (i. e., द्वि: + सृत), A. Mg. दूसल्लि, E. H. दूसर्.

*Thirteenth Group.*

272. Set. Com. gen. Masc. Fem.

1)	अर् or र	अरा or रा	अरी or री
2)	आर्	आरा	आरी

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others strong. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note.

273. These suff. are used to derive adj. expressing (genitive) relation from subst. or pronouns; but they occur very rarely. Thus in the possessive pron.; m. f. हमारू or m. हमरा, f. ०री *our* (lit. of *us*), of हम् *we*; m. f. तोहारू or m. तोहरा, f. ०री *your* (lit. of *you*), of तोह् *you*; m. f. मोरू or m. मोरा, f. ०री *mine*, of \*मो *I*; m. f. तोरू or m. तोरा, f. ०री *thine*, of \*तो *thou*. Again in nouns; e. g., m. f. गँवारू or m. गँवरा, f. ०री *rustic, vulgar*, of गाँव् *village*; m. f. चिन्हारू or m. चिन्हारा *an acquaintance* (lit. of a *mark, marked*), f. चिन्हारी *acquaintance*; भिखारू *beggar*, of भोख् *alms*; perhaps also हथियारू *tools, weapons*, of हथिया *small handle*; m. घसियारा, f. ०री *grassier*, of घसिया (or घास्) *grass*; भठियारा, f. ०री *innkeeper*, of भठिया (or भठो) *hearth, inn* (Skr. भट्ट).

274. *Affinitics and Derivation.* These suff. are identical with the gen. affixes करू, करा, करो, see § 377, where their derivation will be fully explained. The full suffix करू still exists in the M. गाँवकरू *villager* (Man. 113), खोडकरू (H. खोडिल्) *mischievous*, of खोड् (Man. 114); चिपलुंकरू *a man of Chiplun* (Bs. II, 181), etc. The curtailed suff. अरू, आरू, etc. are employed in B. and O. as their ordinary gen. affixes; as O. घररू *domestic or of a house*, of घर *house*. H. H. has हमारा *our*, तुम्हारा *your*, गँवारू *villager*.

#### Fourteenth Group.

275.	Set.	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
	1)	आरू	—	आरा	आरी
	2)	—	आरिनि	आरी	आरिनी
	3)	कारू	—	कारा	कारी

The forms in आ and ई are strong, the others weak. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note.

276. These suff. are used to derive nouns, expressing „workers of something“. They are of a limited number. Thus the 1<sup>st</sup> set in सोनारू, f. सोनारी or ०रिनि or ०रिनी *goldsmith*, of सोना *gold*; कोहारू, f. ०री or ०रिनि or ०रिनी *potter*, of कुम्ह् *pot*; कहारू, f. ०री or ०रिनि or ०रिनी *porter*, of काँध् *shoulder*; चमारू, f. ०री or ०रिनि or ०रिनी *leather-worker*, of चाम् *leather*; सुतारू, f. ०री or ०रिनि or ०रिनी *carpenter*, of सूत् *thread*; अंधारू or अंधियारू or अंधारन, f. ०री, or अंधियारा m.,

f. °री *dark* or *darkness*, of चंधा *dark*. The 2<sup>nd</sup> set in पुनारी, f. पुनारिनि or °रिनी *worshipper*, of पूजा *worship*. The 3<sup>d</sup> set in छुटकार or °रा or °री *deliverance*, of छुटा *delivered*.

277. *Affinities and Derivation*. The original of these suffixes is the Skr. noun कार् or कारिन्; e. g., Skr. कुम्भकारः or °री, Mg. कुम्भाले or °ली or कुंभाले or °ली, E. H. कोहार् (cf. § 120); Skr. पूजाकारिकः (i. e., °रिन् + क), Mg. पूजालिर्, E. H. पुनारी, N. पूनाहारि, (S. Lk. 1, 5). These and similar words occur in all Gds. As to the fem., see § 259.

*Fifteenth Group.*

278.	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
	1)	क्	का	की
	2)	कै	—	—

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others strong.

279. These suff. are used to derive adj. expressing relation from a subst. Thus काठक् or काठकै or काठका, f. °की *wooden*, of काठ *wood*; घरकै or घरका, f. °की *domestic*, of घर *house*; बनकै or बनका, f. की *wild*, of बन *forest*; etc.

280. *Affinities and Derivation*. These suff. are identical with the common genitive affixes; and their derivatives are really genitives of the respective bases. This can be seen from the fact that all the various Gd. gen. aff. may be used in this way; thus M. चा in M. घरचा *domestic* (Man. 113. Bs. II, 110), in S. गोठेचो *of the same village*, of गोठ; वेढीचो *of the jungle*, of वेढि (Tr. 91); again Konkani ला in M. तेथला *of that place*, of तेथे *there* (Man. 113); again G. पो in S. चोरापो *thievish*, of चोर *thief*, or बातूपो *oral*, of बातु *mouth* (Tr. 72. 73); again H. का in M. बोलका *eloquent*, of बोल *word* (Man. 107), मारका *given to beating*, of मार *beating* (Man. 115), पाटिलकी *office of a पाटिल् village accountant* (Man. 113); in P. पिडका *paternal*, of पिड *father*; in S. हारिका *relating to a हारी peasant* (Tr. 71); again Mw. री in M. खातरा *itch-producing*, of खात् (Man 115); and, of course, each in its own language. — As to the origin of all these affixal forms see § 377. — The vowel ए before चो in S. is not (as Bs. II. 110)

the inflected termination of the noun; for the obl. form of गोटु is not गोटे but गोतु; similarly of वेत्ति it is not वेत्ती, but वेत्ति (Tr. 123. 128); but all these long vowels in S., viz. ए in एचो, ई in ईचो, आ in आपो or आकू (Tr. 70), ऊ in उपो, ओ in ओको (Tr. 71), have probably arisen by the suff. being added to the strong form (in अय or इय or अज् or उज्, contracted to ए, ई, etc.), just as in M. भलेष्ण goodness, of भला + ण (see § 231).

*Sixteenth Group.*

281.	Set.	Masc.	Fem.
	1)	—	आस्
	2)	आसा	आसी

The form आस् is weak, the others are strong. As to the way of adding them, see § 195, note.

282. Of these suff. the first set is used to derive subst., expressing „desire of anything“, and the second set to derive adj. meaning „desirous“, from an other subst. The number of such derivatives, however, is small. Thus f. निँदास् *desire to sleep, sleepiness*; m. निँदासा, f. ०सी *sleepy*, of नीँद् *sleep*; उँघास् *sleepiness*, ०सा m., ०सी f. *sleepy*, of उँघ् *sleep*; मुतास् f. *desire to make water*, ०सा m., ०सी f. *desirous of d<sup>uo</sup>*, of मूत् *urine*; हगास् *desire to stool*, ०सा m., ०सी f. *desirous of d<sup>uo</sup>*, of हग् *excrement*; चुदास् f. *lasciviousness*, ०सा m., ०सी f. *lascivious*, of चोद् *copulation*; पेदास् *gluttony*, of पेद् *belly*; कटासा m., ०सी f. *inclined to bite, snappish*, of काट् *bite*. Sometimes the base is not in use, as in रोघास् f. *inclination to weep*, रोघासा m., ०सी f. *tearful*. In a few words the suff. has come to signify abstract nouns, as मिठास् f. *sweetness* (lit. *desire or tendency to be sweet*), of मीट् *sweet*; उँचास् f. *height*, of उँच् *high*; तुरास् *coldness*, of तुर (H. H. तुर) *cold*.

283. *Affinities and Derivation.* These derivatives are found also in W. H. and P. (see Bs. II, 82). In the other Gds. the (so-called) suff. is probably better preserved in its nominal form. It is merely a curtailment of the nouns वँस् or वँङ् (fem.) *desire* = Skr. वाञ्छा, and वँसा or वँङ् *desirous* = Skr. वाञ्छकः, as may be seen from the alternative form चुदवँसा *libidinous*. In

the suff., *वृ* is elided and the hiatus-vowels contracted to *आ*. Thus Skr. निद्रावाञ्छा, Pr. निद्रवंश्चा, E. H. निद्रास्; Skr. रोद्रवाञ्छकः, Mg. लोअवञ्छए or लोअअञ्छए, E. H. रोअसा. The change of *इ* to *स्* is very common in M. and Mw., and, though less so, in *ॠ*., whence it has sometimes passed into the other Gds. (see § 11. Bs. I, 218). — Shakespear's (H. Dict.) identification of the suff. with the Skr. noun *आशा hope* is not tenable; neither is the theory of their connection (as Br. II, 81) with the Skr. desiderative. The latter is true only of E. H. पियास् f. *thirst* = Skr. पिपासा, Pr. पिअसा, and E. H. पिपासा m., *सी* f. *thirsty* = Skr. पिपासितकः m., *तिका* f. (not, as Bs., Skr. पिपासुकः, which would be H. पियास्). It exactly corresponds to E. H. भूख् f. *hunger* = Skr. बुभुक्षा, Pr. बुहुक्खा, and E. H. भूखा m., भूखो f. *hungry* = Skr. बुभुक्षितकः m., *तिका* f. — The two words कपास् f. and कटास् m. *violent burst of rain* do not belong to this group, but are compounds of कप् or कट् *quick* and प्र. वासा f. or वासं n. *rain* (see H. C. 2, 104), = Skr. वर्षा and वर्षम्.

*Seventeenth Group.*

284.	Set.	Fem.	Fem.
	1)	आहट् or आवट्	औटी
	2)	आवत्	औती

The forms in *ई* are strong, the others weak. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note.

285. The first set is used to derive abstract nouns from adj. The form *आहट्* is the one commonly employed. Thus सचाहट् or सचावट् or सचौटी *truth, truthfulness*, of सच् or सचा *true* (= सचाई § 220); मिठाहट् *sweetness*, of मीट् *sweet*; गरमाहट् *warmth*, of गरम् (Pers. گرم) *warm*; खराहट् *purity*, of खरा *pure*; तिताहट् *bitterness*, of तीत् or तीता *bitter*; चिकनाहट् *smoothness*, of चिकना *smooth*; रूखाहट् *roughness*, of रूख् *rough*; कडुआहट् *bitterness*, of कडुआ *bitter*, etc.

286. The first and second sets occur in a few words, which are derived from subst., and express relation generally; as चमरावत् or चमरावट् *perquisites of a man of the चमार caste*; अपोती *patrimony*, of बाप् *father*; सगौती *flesh, animal food*, (probably) of सग *kin, related* (= Skr. सगर्भ *of the same origin*, hence *animal* as opp. to *vegetable*

(cf. § 120); हिनोतो *humility, supplication*, of हीन् *destitute*; ह्यौटो *handicraft, dexterity*, of हात् *hand*.

287. *Affinities*. These derivatives are properly W. Gd. and have been introduced into the E. H. from the W. H. In the latter and in P. they are very common; also in S., which has the contracted forms अट् or आत् (or अत्) or आठो (probably for \*आटो), all masc., see Tr. 60. 62. 68. 74.; e. g., चोकिराट्, *boyhood*, of चोकरु; डिअपात् *debtor*, of डिअपो *debt*; भयत् *porter*, of भरी *load*; पापयाटो *damp*, of पापो *water*, etc. Also occasionally in M.; as रानवट् *belonging to a desert*, of रान् (Man. 113), or contracted to ईट् (= \*आयट्) as in रगोट् *angry*, of राग् (Man. 114).

288. *Derivation*. The originals of these suff. are the Skr. nouns वृत्ति fem. or वृत्त neut., and वार्ता fem. or वार्त्त neut.; all meaning *condition, state, mode of life, earnings*, etc. (see M. W. 957. 958). The two former become in Pr. वट्टी or वट्ट (H. C. 2, 29), the two latter वत्ता (or वट्टा) and वत्तं (H. C. 2, 30). Next Pr. वट्टी or वट्टा and, with pleon. अ added, वट्टिआ become in H. वट् and वटी, or, with pleon. अ added to the base, आवट् and ओटी (contracted for मवटी or अटो, cf. § 78, for आवटी, § 25) or, with ह् substituted for व् (see § 69), आहट्. Similarly Pr. वत्ता or वत्तिआ become in H. आवत् or ओती. Thus Skr. \*सत्यकवृत्तिः, Pr. सच्चवट्टी or सच्चवट्टिआ, E. H. सचावट् or सचोटी; again Skr. चर्मकारकवृत्तिः or वार्त्ता, Pr. चम्मकारवट्टी or वत्ता, E. H. चमरावट् or वत् (for \*चमरावट्, cf. § 25). The S. m. आट् arises similarly from the Skr. neut. वृत्तम्. — Those suff. which form adj., as S. आत्, M. अवट्, arise from the Skr. m. वृत्तः or वार्त्तः, Pr. वट्टी or वत्तो. Thus E. H. गुब्रौता or टा *a beetle found in old cow-dung*, from गोवर् + वृत्तकः *living in gobar or cow-dung*. — In the E. H. चिकनावट् or वत् (fem.) *clayey soil*, there is probably an exchange of म् and व्, see § 134, 2; E. H. also चिकनी माटी. — The suff. of this group should be carefully distinguished from those of the fifth group (§ 322) which are primary, and have an altogether different origin. Practically they are often confounded, and the dental त्, which is proper to the primary group, given to the secondary, the proper cons. of which is ट्; and *vice versa*.



*Eighteenth Group.*

289. Com. gen. स्. Masc. सा. Fem. सी.

The form स् is weak, the others are strong.

290. These suff. occur in a very few nouns, which more or less distinctly imply „likeness“. Thus आपुस् f. (H. H. आपस्) *kindred* (lit. *like self*); especially in the phrase आपुस् मे *among themselves*, of आपु *self*; पेसा m. *a copper coin, the fourth part of an annā*, of पाड् or पाई *a pice* (lit. *like the pāda or quarter of a weight of gold*, cf. M. W. 564); पनसा m., पनसी f. *insipid* (lit. *like water*), of पानी *water*; m. ऐकसा, f. ०सी *similar, identical* (lit. *like one*), of ऐक् *one*.

291. *Affinitics*. These suff. exist. in all Gds. in the above mentioned words (cf. Bs. II, 330). — In M. they may be added, as a pleon. or dimin. suff., to any adj. in the following forms: m. सा, f. सी, n. से<sup>०</sup> or, less curtailed, com. gen. सऱ्; e. g., काऱ्सऱ्, c. g. *blackish*, of काऱ् *black*; m. लहानसा, f. ०सी, n. ०से<sup>०</sup> *littleish*, of लहान् *little* (Man. 114). For the same purpose m. सी, f. सी are used in W. H. (H. H. सा, सी), but as an affix, not as a suffix; that is, the adj., to which they are added, is itself inflected; thus H. H. डँचा सा पहाऱ् *a rather high mountain*, नीली सी चिडियँ *rather blue birds*, बडे से घोडे *rather large horses* (see Kl. 91)<sup>1</sup>). — In W. H. and H. H. the same aff. is also commonly employed to express resemblance; as मेरी सी दऱ् *a condition like mine*; मुक् सा पापी *a sinner like me*; पंडित् की सी बोली *speech like that of a pāṇḍit* (examples of Kl. 91. Eth. 58). In E. H. सा, सी are not employed as affixes; in their place it uses ऐसन् *such* with subst. (e. g., हायो ऐसन् *like an elephant*, आदमी ऐसन् *like a man*) and ऐक् *one* or ऐसन् *such* with adj.; as छोद् ऐक् (usually spelled छोटेक्) or छोद् ऐसन् *rather little* (cf. German *etwas klein*); थोरेक् or थोर् ऐसन् *rather few, some few*; बहुतेक् or बहुत ऐसन् *rather many*.

1) The examples are from Kl. The aff. never denotes *intensity*, as Kl., Eth. (H. Gr. 48) and Bates (H. Dict. 740) state. It expresses the English *rather*, not *very*. It has no connexion with the Skr. सम *like*, still less with the Skr. suff. प्रास् *fold* (as Kl. 91, a). Bates gives the correct derivation.

292. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. सदृश *like*, as evidenced by the E. H. use of ऐसन, which is the same as Skr. ईदृश (§§ 111. 458). Skr. सदृश: becomes in A. Mg. सरिसे (Wb. Bh. 422, cf. H. C. 1, 142) or सरिर् (cf. H. C. 4, 300 for सरिह, with ह् as in तेदूह H. C. 2, 157 or in तेहु = \*तइहु H. C. 4, 402 = Skr. तादृश:). The latter becomes in Gd. \*सरिश्, \*सरि, whence M. सरू or, by eliding रू (cf. Ap. तइसो H. C. 4, 403 = Skr. तादृश:, see § 124) and dropping इ, E. H. स. Similarly Skr. m. सदृशक: = A. Mg. सरिसर् or Ap. Mg. \*सइश्, contracted \*सइश् or (dropping इ and contracted) E. H. सा; fem. Skr. सदृशिका, A. Mg. सरिसिश्, Ap. \*सइश्, E. H. contracted \*सइर् or सी. Precisely similar are E. H. भा or भया or भइश् been = Mg. भविश्, Skr. भूत:; E. H. गा or गया or गइश्, Ap. Mg. गइश्, Skr. गत:; E. H. का (§ 278) = S. कयो = Ap. कइश्, Skr. कृत:, see § 307; E. H. स् or सरू = A. Mg. सरिर्, Skr. सृत: (§ 268). — The E. H. use of ऐक् may be compared with its analogous use in the indefinite numerals (§ 425), as दस् ऐक् *about ten, some ten.*

*Nineteenth Group.*

293. Com. gen. वारू or वाल्. Masc. वारा or वाला.

Fem. वारी or वाली and वारिनि or वालिनि.

The forms in आ and ई are strong, the others weak.

294. These suff. are used to derive nouns implying possession or relation generally, from subst. Thus गोवारू or गोवाल c. g. or गुवारा or ला m. or गुवारी or ली or गुवारिनि or लिनि f. *cow-keeper, cowherd*, of गो *cow*; घटवारू or वाल् c. g., वारी or ली or रिनि or लिनि f. *wharf-keeper, wharfinger*, of घाट *landing-place*; नाओवारू or ला m., री or ली f. *boat-keeper, boat-man*, of नाओ *boat*; m. कपडावारू or ला, f. री or ली *cloth-keeper, cloth-merchant*; दिल्लीवारू or ला m., री or ली f. *belonging to or native of Delhi*, etc. Even with foreign words; e. g. बक्सवारू or ला m., री or ली or रिनि or लिनि f. *box-keeper, pedlar*.

295. *Affinities.* These suff. are not properly E. or S. Gd., but W. Gd., whence they have been introduced into E. H., B. (see S. Ch. 88, cf. 154; spelled m. उयाला, f. उयाली; e. g., B. टूपिउयाला *holding or wearing a टूपि cap*) and M. (see Man. 113, 2; e. g.,

दूधवाला *milkman*). In W. Gd. they are very commonly used. S. has वारो m., वारी f. (Tr. 76, 36); e. g., घरवारो *owner of a house*; G. has वाळो m., वाळी f. (Ed. 14); e. g., दुधवाळो, दोपोवाळो.

296. *Derivation.* The original of these suff., certainly in the two first examples, probably in all, is the Skr. noun पाल *keeper* or, with pleon. क added, पालक. Thus Skr. m. गोपालः or °लकः, f. °लिका, Mg. m. गोवाले or °लए, f. °लिआ, E. H. m. गोवार or °रा, f. °री. Practically, however, these suff. are confounded with the primary suff. वाला, °ली (in अनेवाला, °ली), see § 315. — The fem. in लिनि is probably an anomalous formation, see §§ 259. 262; though it might be referred to a Skr. base पालिन्.

### 3. PRIMARY DERIVATIVE SUFFIXES.

297. The primary derivative suffixes may be divided into eight groups, traces of all which already existed, more or less distinctly, in Pr.

#### *First Group.*

298. Com. gen. अत्. Masc. अता. Fem. अती (or अति). The forms in अ and ई are strong, the others weak. The masc. strong form is not much used in E. H., except in the oblique form अते, as an adv. part., see § 488.

*Note:* Observe, in adding these suff., that ए is inserted after ई, and optionally व् after ऊ and ओ; and अ is elided after आ and ए and after R. हो be.

299. These suff. are used to derive the participle present from any root. Thus हसत् *laughing*, of R. हस् *laugh*; पठत् *reading*, of R. पठ् *read*; पीयत् *drinking*, of R. पी *drink*; चूअत् or चूवत् *dripping*, of R. चू *drip*; रोअत् or रोवत् *weeping*, of R. रो *weep*, etc. But खात् *eating*, of R. खा *eat*; देत् *giving*, of R. दे *give*; होत् *being*, of R. हो *be*, etc. The fem. in इ is only used as a component part of the pret. conj.; as कर्तिस् (f.) *thou didst*, of कर्ति + स्; see § 507.

300. *Affinities.* These suff. exist in all Gds., with very slight modifications; thus B. इत् (only in the obl. f. इते, S. Ch. 148);

O. \*अन् (only in the obl. f. अंत, Sn. 28); II. H. m. अता, f. अतो; W. H. m. अतु (Br.) or अतो (Mw.), f. अती; P. m. अदा or अंदा, f. अदी or अंदी (Id. 24), N. अदो, f. अदी; S. अंदो or ईंदी, f. अंदी or ईंदी (Tr. 268. 269); G. m. अतो, f. अती, n. अतु (Ed. 113, 53); M. c. g. अन् or m. अता, f. अती, n. अते (Man. 63. 73); O. II. m. अंतो or अन् (Kl. 222. 240. 241). The O. has also उ (e. g., क्हु doing, Sn. 28).

301. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit अन् (or अन्त); in Pr. अंत (Vr. 7, 10. H. C. 3, 180. 181), or occasionally in Sr. Pr. अंद (H. C. 4, 261. cf. Ls. 362). Hence nom. sg. Mg. m. अंत, f. अंती (H. C. 3, 182) or, with pleon. अ added, m. अंतए, f. अंतिआ; and E. H. m. f. अन् or m. अता, f. अतो (cf. §§ 143. 146). Thus Skr. m. हसन्, f. हसन्ती; A. Mg. हसंत, f. हसंती; O. H. m. f. हसन्; E. H. हसन्; again, Skr. \*हसन्तकः, A. Mg. हसंतए, E. H. हसता; fem. Skr. \*हसन्तिका, A. Mg. हसंतिआ, E. H. हसतो. — The S. अंदो, P. अंदा, N. अदो, Gw. अदो or अंदो (Kl. 215) are similarly derived from the Sr. Pr. अंद्यो. — The O. उ has, perhaps, arisen from अन् (or अन्त) by the elision of न्? (see § 153). — The E. H. खात् is = Mg. खंत or खाअते (cf. H. C. 4, 228); E. H. देत् = Mg. देंते (cf. H. C. 2, 206. 4, 379) = \*दयंते, Skr. ददत् (ॐ \*ददन्तः); E. H. होत् = Mg. होंते (cf. H. C. 3, 180) or हवंते or भवंते (cf. H. C. 4, 60), Skr. भवन्.

### Second Group.

302. Set. Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
1) इल् or अल्	—	इलि or अलि	इला or अला	इली or अली
2) इअ or इ	अ	इ	आ	ई

The forms in आ and ई are strong, the others weak. The masc. strong forms in ला are not much used, except in the obl. f. इले or अले, as adv. part., see § 488. The forms with इल् are peculiar to the Maithili and Magadh in the eastern, and the forms (m.) अ or आ, (f.) इ or ई to Baiswāri in the western part of the E. H. area. The latter (Bs.) dialect does not use the first set at all; the other E. H. dialects use both, see § 303.

*Note:* Observe, in adding the suff. beginning with अ, that य्

is inserted after **ञ** and **ई**, and optionally **व्** after **उ** and **ओ**; before those beginning with **इ** neither **व्** nor **व** is inserted.

303. These suff. are used\* to derive the past participle from any root. Thus **हसल्** or **हसिल्** *laughed*, of R. **हस्** *laugh*; **पठल्** or **पठिल्** *read*, of R. **पठ्** *read*; **पीयल्** or **पीडल्** *drunk*, of R. **पी** *drink*; **चूषल्** or **चूवल्** or **चूडल्** *dripped*, of R. **चू** *drip*; **रोषल्** or **रोवल्** or **रोडल्** *wept*, of R. **रो** *weep*; **खाडल्** or **खायल्** *eaten*, of R. **खा** *eat*, etc. The derivatives of the second set, and those of the fem. **ञलि** are never used by themselves, but only as component parts of the pret. indicat. (exc. in Bs), see §§ 502. 504, thus **हस्यो** *I laughed*, of **हसिञ्** + **उं**; **खाइस्** *thou eatest*, of **खाइ** + **स्**; again **हसलिस्** (f.) *thou laughedst*, of **हसलि** + **स्**, etc. But in Bs. **हसा** m., **हसो** f. *laughed*; **पठा** m., **पठो** f. *read*; **खाया** m., **खाई** f. *eaten*; etc.

*Note:* This part. is used *passively* in the formation of the passive voice, but *actively* in that of the pret. tense active.

304. *Exception.* The following part. pass. are formed irregularly: R. **करू** *do*, P. P. 1) **कडल्** or **कयल्** or **कैल्**, or 2) **किङ्घं** or **किहिं** or Bs. **कया** or **किया** *done*; — of R. **धरू** *place*, P. P. 1) **धडल्** or **धयल्** or **धैल्** or 2) **धङ्घं** or **धिहिं** or Bs. **धया**; also regularly **धरिल्**, **धरा**, etc. *placed*—R. **मरू** *die*, P. P. 1) **मुडल्** or **मुञल्** or 2) **मुङ्घं** or **मुइं** or Bs. **मुञा**; also regularly **मरिल्**, **मरा** *died*, etc. — R. **जा** *go*, P. P. 1) **गडल्** or **गयल्** or **गैल्** or 2) **गङ्घं** or **गइं** or B. **गया** *gone*; also regularly **जाडल्** or **जायल्** (§ 479. exc.); — R. **हो** *be*; P. P. 1) **भडल्** or **भयल्** or **भैल्** or 2) **भङ्घं** or **भइं** or Bs. **भया** or **भवा** *been*; also regularly **होडल्** or **होयल्** (§ 479. exc.). — R. **दे** *give*, P. P. 1) **दिहल्** or 2) **दिङ्घं** or **दिहिं** or Bs. **दया** or **दिया** *given*. — R. **ले** *take*, P. P. 1) **लिहल्** or 2) **लिङ्घं** or **लिहिं** or Bs. **ल्या** or **लिया** *taken*. — R. **आवू** *come*, P. P. 1) **आडल्** or **आयल्** or 2) **आङ्घं** or **आइं** or Bs. **आया** or **आवा** *come*. — R. **पावू** *obtain*, P. P. 1) **पाडल्** or **पायल्** or 2) **पाङ्घं** or **पाइं** or Bs. **पाया** or **पावा** *obtained*.

305. *Affinities.* The second set occurs in all Gds., exc. M.; but the first set in the E. Gd. and S. Gd. only. Thus 1) both sets; in B., wk. f. **इल्** (only in the obl. f. **इले** as a cond. part.,

S. Ch. 148), and wk. f. इय (only in the obl. f. इया as past part. and in the pret. tense, S. Ch. 148. 144), or st. f. अ म., ई f. (only in the pass. sense and to form the pass. voice, S. Ch. 148. 142); in O., st. f. इला (e. g. पडिला *fallen*, Sn. 29) or wk. f. इल् (only in the obl. f. इले as a condit. part., Sn. 28); and wk. f. इ (as past part., Sn. 28) or इअ (only in the pret. tense, Sn. 30), or st. f. अ म., ई f. (as past part., Sn. 30; and in the pass. voice, Sn. 39). — 2) Only first set; in M., st. f. अला or इला म., अली or इली f., अले or इले n. (Man. 63. 64. 67. 68, note; e. g., सुटला or सुटिला = E. H. कुटल् or कुटिल् and M. सोडिला or सोडला = E. H. ङोडल् or ङोडिल्). — 3) Only second set; in O. H. (Chand), wk. f. इय् (= Mg. इए, इअ) or इव् (= Ap. इउ) or st. f. एव् (= Ap. इअउ), see Kl. 213. 215.; in H. H., st. f. अ म., ई f.; in W. H., st. f. यो or यो म., ई f.; in P., st. f. इअ म., ई f. (Ld. 24); in G., st. f. यो म., ई f., वुं n. (Ed. 113. 50); in S., wk. f. इउ or इअ or इ (Tr. 289), or st. f. इओ or यो म., ई f. (Tr. 271. 289); in N., wk. f. इअ or ए or इ, or st. f. यो म., ई f. In all W. Gds. the P. P. is used in the pass. sense only, see § 487. — It is worth noting, that both sets exist in *Pashtū* (see Tr. J. G. O. S. XXIII, 116); e. g., wk. f. *kar* or *krah* (= कृत); st. f. *karai* (= कृतक); and wk. f. *kral* (= \*करितः, B. करिल्), st. f. *karalai* (= \*करितकः, O. करिला). Trumpp distinguishes the weak and strong forms as part. pret. and part. perf., but these names, being the same in import, do not explain the difference.

*Note:* Some Gds. add. a pleon. suff. to the past part. in order to make it more of the nature of an adj.; viz., M. adds ला (Man. 63. 64), G. लो (Ed. 50. 113), S. लु or लो (Tr. 272. 69), Mw. लो (Kl. 209, 393), N. लो (see § 216). The term. of the part. suffers various modifications before these suff., which may be seen from the following examples: M. पडलेला, G. पडलो, S. पडिल्लु or पडिल्लो, Mw. पड्योलो or पडोलो, N. पड्यालो *read*, from the resp. part. M. पडला, G. पड्यो, S. पडियो, Mw. पड्यो, N. पड्यो.

306. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit त or, with the connecting vowel इ added, इत. The addition of इ is very common in Pr., even with such roots, as do not take

it in Skr. (see Vr. 7, 32. H. C. 3, 156. Ls. 363. Wb. Spt. 65. Wb. Bh. 432. 433). In Gd. it has become almost universal; though there are a very few exceptions, as P. दिद्वा or डिद्वा *seen* (Pr. दिद्वा, Skr. दृष्टकः), but also regularly देखिआ (Ld. 66); G. \*दीहो *seen*, पेहो *entered* (Pr. पइद्वा, Skr. प्रविष्टकः); S. डिहो *seen*, पेहो *entered*, लधो *obtained* (Pr. लढवा H. C. 3, 134., Skr. लब्धकः), and some others, see Tr. 273—279. Ed. 50. — The suff. इत् becomes in Pr. either इद् which is the older form preserved in Sr. (H. C. 4, 269), Mg. (see Vr. 11, 11. H. C. 4, 291. 292) and old Ap. (H. C. 4, 396), or इञ् which is the later form of the Mh. (Vr. 7, 32. H. C. 3, 156) the A. Mg. (Wb. Bh. 433) and the later Ap. (e. g., हसित H. C. 4, 396. = Mh. हसिञ्; Ap. धसित H. C. 4, 439 et passim; compare the treatment of the similar suff. इत्थ = Ap. इत्थ H. C. 4, 438). The (older) Mg. form इद् further changes in E. and S. Gd. to इल् and अल् (§ 109). The only instances of this change of द् to ल् in Mg. are: कले for कदे (H. C. 4, 290. Skr. कृतः) *done*, गले for गदे (H. C. 4, 302. Skr. गतः) *gone*, and मले for मदे (cf. Ls. 423. Skr. मृतः) *died*<sup>1</sup>) and, moreover, they are confined to the lower (or Ap.) types of Mg. (e. g., the Śābari<sup>2</sup>) and Avantī, Ls. 417). This tendency of the Ap. Mg. has become the general rule in its descendants, the E. and S. Gd.; though side by side with the special Ap. Mg. forms in इल् they have preserved also the general later (A. Mg., Mh., Ap. Sr.) Pr. forms in इञ्. There are, then, the following forms, in the nom. sg.: 1) Mg. m. इदे, f. इदा, and, with pleon. अ added, m. इदए, f. इदिआ; these result in the E. H.

1) It is commonly supposed (Ls. 412. Bs. I, 238) that द् first changed to ड् and then to ल्; and it is true that Vr. 11, 15 gives the three Mg. forms कडे, गडे, मडे; but Md. 12, 28 gives them only as alternatives besides कदे, गदे, मदे. Seeing that the general tendency of the languages of the Mg. class is towards dentalisation (see §§ 15. 16), it seems more probable, that द् changed at once to (dental) ल्, than that it first became cerebral ड्, and then reverted to the dental ल्.

2) It may be remarked, that O. which is closely allied to the Śābari (see p. XXIV) preserves the three forms कल् *done*, गल् *gone*, मल् *died*.

m. इल् or अल्, f. इलि or अलि or इल् or अल्; and m. इला or अला, f. इलो or अलो. 2) Mg. m. इए, f. इआ, and, with pleon. अ added, m. इअए, f. इइआ, whence the E. H. m. f. इअ or (dropping अ) इ, and m. इआ or (suppressing इ) आ, f. इई or (contracted) ई. E. g., Skr. चलितः *walked*, Mg. चलिदे, E. H. चलिल् or चलल्; or A. Mg. चलिए (Wb. Bh. 215) or Ap. चलिउ, O. H. चलिच् or चलिच्<sup>1</sup>), E. H. चलिअ or चलि, Bs. चलि or चल (*chala*). Again Skr. चलितोऽस्मि *I walked*, A. Mg. चलिए म्हि or चलिअ म्हि, Ap. चलिअउ (see § 503, 1. a), E. H. चलयो. Again Skr. चलितोऽसि *thou walkedst*, A. Mg. चलिए सि or Ap. a) चलिअसि or b) चलिअहि (see § 503, 1. b), N. a) चल्येस् or चलिस्, E. H. चलिस्, S. b) चलिर्. Again Skr. चलितकः *walked*, Mg. चलिदए, E. H. and M. चलला or चलिला, O. चलिला; or A. Mg. चलिअए, P. चलिआ, Bs., H. H., B., O. चला; or Mh. चलिअओ, Ap. चलिअउ, O. H. चलेच् or चलिओ or चलयो, W. H. चलयौ or चलयो, S. चलिओ or चलयो, G. and N. चलयो. \*

307. *Affinities and Derivation of the Exceptional Forms.* Cognate forms are denoted by identical letters. 1) R. खाद् *eat*; Skr. (a and c) खादितः or (b and d) खादितकः, Mg. (a) खाइदे or (b) खाइदए or A. Mg. (c) खाइए or (d) खाइअए, E. H. (a) खाइल् or (b) खइल् or Bs. (c) खाइ or (d) खाया (for \*खाइआ), B. and O. (a) खाइल् or (b) खाइला or (c) खाइ or (d) खिया (for \*खया = \*खइआ, see below गिया *gone*, cf. Sn. 40), M. (b) खाल्ना (Man. 80), H. H. (d) खाया, P. (b) काहदा (with euphon. ह्, § 69) or (d) खाया (Ld. 66); again Ap. Pr. (b) खाइदउ or (d) खाइअउ, Mw. and G. (b) खाधो (for \*खाहदो or खाहिदो with euph. ह्, as in P.), W. H. (d) खायो or खायो. — 2) R. लभ् *take*; Skr. (a) लब्धः or (β) लब्धकः, Pr. (a) लडो (H. C. 3, 134) or (β) लडओ, S. (β) लधो (Tr. 278); or Skr. (a) \*लभितः or (b) \*लभितकः, Mg. (a) लहिदे or (b) लहिदए or A. Mg. (c) लहिए or (d) लहिअए, E. H. (a) लिहल् or (b) लिहिला or (c) लिहि (in the pret. tense, cf. § 502 exc., for \*लहि) or Bs. (d) लेवा (contr. for लइआ with euph. व्, cf. § 69, Kl. 224) or लया or लिया (like गिया *gone*), B. (a) निल् (in the past tense and

1) M., as usual (§ 65, note), changes इउ or इव् to ईव्; e. g., बाँधीव् *bound* or *built*, from R. बाँध् *bind* (see Man. 107. 114).



condit. part., S. Ch. 190), or-(d) निया (S. Ch. 190), O. (a) नेल or (b) नेला or (d) नेया (Sn. 36), M. (b) ल्याला (Mn. 80), H. H. (d) लिया, P. (d) लइआ or लिआ (Ld. 66) or (b) लीता (perhaps contr. for a Ps. Pr. form \*लइतए or \*लहितए, or made after दिन्ना *given*, Ld. 66); again Ap. Pr. (b) लहिदउ or (d) लहिअउ, W. H. (b) Mw. लीदो (contr. for \*लइदो) or लोधो (contr. like काथो *eaten*, Kl. 213) or लीनो or लीन्हो (with न् or न्ह् for दू or ध्, cf. H. C. 1, 208 गन्भिणो = Pr. \*गन्भिदो = Skr. गर्भितः, Pr. अणित्तयं = Pr. \*अदित्तयं = Skr. अतिमुक्ककम्) or (d) लेवो (for \*लइओ) or Br. (d) लयो or लियो, G. (b) लोधो (as in Mw., Ed. 50). — 3) R. दध् *give* (substitute for दा or धा); Skr. (a) हितः (for \*धितः) or (β) हितकः, Ap. (a) °हिदु (H. C. 4, 446) or (β) °हितउ (H. C. 4, 395), Gd. *deest*; again, formed strictly analogous to the P. P. of R. लभ्, Skr. \*दधितः, Mg. (a) \*दहिदे or (b) \*दहिदए or A. Mg. (c) \*दहिए or (d) \*दहिअए, E. H. (a) दिहल् or (b) दिहला or (c) दिहि (in the past tense, for \*दहि) or Bs. (d) देवा (Kl. 224) or दया or दिया, B. (a) दिल् (in the past tense and cond. part., S. Ch. 190) or (d) दिया (S. Ch. 190), O. (a) देल or (b) देला or (d) देया (Sn. 36), M. (b) दिला (Man. 80), H. H. (d) दिया, P. दिन्ना (perhaps for Skr. दत्त, or formed like लीता *taken*, cf. Ld. 66); again Ap. Pr. (b) \*दहिदउ or (d) \*दहिअउ; W. H. (b) Mw. दीदो or दीधो or दीनो or दीन्हो or (d) द्यो or Bs. (d) द्यौ or द्यौ, G. (b) दीधो (Ed. 59). — 4) R. ध् *place*; Skr. धृतः, Gd. *deest*; or Skr. \*धरितः, Mg. (a) धलिदे or (b) धलिदए or A. Mg. (c) धलिए (cf. H. C. 1, 36. धरिओ) or (d) धलिअए, E. H. (a) धइल् or धरिल् or (b) धइला or धरिला or (c) धइ or धरि or Bs. (c) धर or (a) धरा, B. and O. (a) धरिल् or (b) धरिला or (d) धरा, M. (b) धरला, H. H. (d) धरा, P. (d) धरिआ; again Ap. Pr. (b) धरिदउ or (d) धरिअउ, W. H. (d) धवौ or धर्यो, G. (d) धर्यो, S. (d) धरिओ or धर्यो. — 5) R. कृ *do*; Skr. (a) कृतः or (β) कृतकः, Ap. (a) किदु (H. C. 4, 446) or (β) किअउ (H. C. 4, 371), S. (β) किओ (Tr. 277); again Skr. \*करितः, Mg. (a) कलिदे or (b) कलिदए or A. Mg. (c) कलिए or (d) कलिअए or Ap. (d) किया (H. C. 4, 396; see H. H. below), E. H. (a) कइल् (§§ 109. 124) or (b) कइला or (c) किहि (in the pret. tense, § 502 exc., with euph. ह्, for \*किइ = कइ = करि, formed after लिहि *taken*, दिहि *given*)

or Bs. कर् or (d) कर्, B. and O. (a) कर्ल् or (b) कर्ला (in the past tense and condit. part., S. Ch. 144. 148. Sn. 27) or (d) कर् (S. Ch. 148. Sn. 39), M. (b) कर्ला (for \*कड्ळा, Man. 80), H. H. (d) किया (for \*कया = कड्या, see S. below, formed after दिया *given*, लिया *taken*, गिया *gone*), P. (d) कीता (perhaps for \*कड्त्, like लीता *taken*, q. v., Ld. 66); again Ap. Pr. (b) कर्दिउ or (d) कर्श्चउ or कियउ (H. C. 4, 378 = कड्चउ, see below W. H.), W. H. (b) Mw. कीदो or कीधो or कीनो or कीन्हो (formed like लीदो, etc., q. v., Kl. 213), or (d) कर्यो or (d) Br. कर्यो or कियो (for \*कयो = कड्यो, see below S.), G. (b) कीधो (Ed. 50) or (d) कर्यो, S. (d) कयो (for \*कड्यो, Tr. 277) or (b) कीतो (see above P.). — 6 R. गम् *go*; Skr. (a) गतः or (β) गतकः, Mg. (α) गदे or गडे or (β) गदए or गडए, O. (α) गल् or (β) गला (in the pret. tense and condit. part., Sn. 34); or Skr. (a) \*गमितः, Pali (a) गमितो (Ms. 131), Mg. (a) गमिदे or (b) गमिदए or (c) गमिए or (d) गमिचए (cf. Wb. Bh. 405 गमेयाए = \*गमिचयाए = \*गमितकया), or Ap. (d) गया (H. C. 4, 376. see H. H. below), E. H. (a) गडल् or (b) गड्ला or (c) गड् (in the pret. tense, § 502 exc.) or Bs. (d) गया (= गड्चा, see below P.) or contr. गा (Kl. 225), B. (a) नेल् (in pret. tense and cond. part., S. Ch. 144. 148) or (d) गिदा (S. Ch. 148, for गया, see below P.), M. (b) नेला (Man. 80), H. H. गया (= गड्चा), P. गड्चा or गिचा (Ld. 66); again Ap. Pr. (d) गमिचउ or गड्चउ or contr. गयउ (H. C. 4, 422. 20., see W. H. and above P.), W. H. (d) Br. गयो or Mw. गयो or गीयो (Kl. 213.? गियो?), G. (d) गयो (Ed. 50 or गयलो Ed. 83., see § 216), N. गयो. — 7 R. भू *be*; Skr. भूतः, Pr. हूञो (H. C. 4, 64), Gd. *deest*; or Skr. \*भविः, Mg. (a) भविदे or (b) हविदे or (c) हुविदे (cf. H. C. 4, 60) or (d) भविदए or (e) हविदए or (f) हुविदए or (g) भविए or (h) हविए (cf. H. C. 4, 401 परिहविञ् = परिभूत्) or (i) हुविए or (k) भविचए or (l) हविचए or (m) हुविचए, Ap. (m) हुञा (H. C. 4, 351, for हुड्चा, see below H. H., and compare Ap. मुञा and मुड्चा), E. H. (a) भडल् or (d) भड्ला or (g) भड् or भय् (§ 123) or (h) हड् or हौ (in the pres. tense, § 514, 3, for \*हवि, § 122) or Bs. (k) भञा or भया (= भड्चा) or contr. भा, B. (b) हड्ल (in the condit. part., S. Ch. 144. 148) or (l) हड्या (S. Ch. 148), O. (c) होडल् or (f) होड्ला

(in the pret. tense and condit. part., Sn. 35) or (i) होइ (Sn. 35) or (m) हुआ (Sn. 66, see H. H. below), M. (e) काला (Man. 80, for \*काला or \*हइला), H. H. (m) हुआ (for हुआ, see P. and Km. below), P. (m) होइया (Ld. 26); again Ap. Pr. (k) \*भविष्य or (l) हविष्य or (m) हुविष्य, W. H. (k) Br. भवौ (for \*भव्यौ) or भयौ (= भइयौ) or contr. भौ or Km. भवो or भयो or भो (Kl. 205) or (l) Mw. द्वियो (suppressing ष between हवि<sup>o</sup>) or द्वियो (? Kl. 236) or (m) हुवो or हुयो (Kl. 210, for हुइयो) or contr. हो (Kl. 200), G. (l) हवो (Ed. 69) or (m) होयो (Ed. 69), S. (m) हुयो (Tr. 298, see H. H. above), N. (k) भयो (= भइयो), Km. (m) हुइयो (Kl. 2, 237), Gw. (m) होयो (Kl. 236). — 8) R. मृ die; Skr. मृतः, Mg. (a) मदे or (β) मए (Wb. Bh. 156) or (γ) मडे (Vr. 11, 15) or Mh. मुद्यो (Spt. 144 et passim), O. (a) मल्; or Skr. \*मरितः, Mg. (a) मलिदे or (b) मुलिदे or (c) मलिदए or (d) मुलिदए or (e) मलिए or (f) मुलिए or (g) मलिषए or (h) मुलिषए, Ap. (f) मुइय (H. C. 4, 367. 419., eliding ल् = र्, § 124) or contr. (h) मुया (H. C. 4, 442., see H. H. below), E. H. (a) मरिल् or (b) मुइल् or (c) मरिला or (d) मुइला or (e) मरि or (f) मुइ or (g) Bs. मरा or (h) मुया, M. (c) मेला (Man. 80, for \*मइला), H. H. (h) मुया (for मुइया, see Ap. Mg. above); again Ap. Pr. (g) मरिष्य or (h) मुरिष्य or contr. मुयउ (H. C. 4, 442, for \*मुइयउ, see Ap. Mg. above and W. H. below), W. H. (g) मयौ or मयो or (h) मुयौ or मुयो (for \*मुइयौ), G. मुवो (Ed. 50), N. (g) मरियो or मयो, S. dto. — 9) R. आप् come and प्राप् (= प्र + आप्) obtain; Skr. आपः or प्राप्; Pr. अतो or पतो (cf. H. C. 4, 332), Gd. deest; or Skr. \*आपितः or \*प्रापितः, Mg. (a) आविदे or (b) आविदए or (c) आविए (cf. H. C. 4, 387 पाविष्य, and see Ap. below) or (d) आविषए, E. H. (a) आइल् or (b) अइल् or (c) आइ or आप् or (d) Bs. आया (cf. § 423), B. (a) आइल् (in the pret. tense and cond. part., S. Ch. 188. 189)<sup>1</sup>), M. (b) आला (Man. 80, for \*आइला), H. H. (d) आया (for आइया), P. (d) आइया; again Ap. Pr. (c) आविउ or आइउ (H. C. 4, 422) or (d) आविषउ (cf. H. C. 4, 432 Bombay Ed. आउइयो = आविषो?), W. H. (d) आयौ or आयो (for आइयो), N. आयो. The forms of प्राप् are strictly analogous throughout.

1) The other B. forms आलिल्, etc. are derived from the R. आइस् = Pr. आविस् = Skr. आविष् enter (आ + विष्).

*Third Group.*

308.	Set.	Com. gen.	• Masc.	Fem.
1)	इब् or अब्		* इबा or * अब्बा	इबि or अबि
2)	आब् or आव्		आवा	आवाई or आई or आवट्
3)	अब्बू or आब्बू		—	—
4)	अवइया or अइया		—	—
5)	अवारू or अवाल्		अवार्ता or अवाला	अवारी or अवाली
6)	आर् or आल्		—	—

The forms of the fourth set are redundant (§§ 200. 202); of the others those in आ, ई and ऊ are strong, the remainder are weak. — The forms with initial इ are not commonly employed, except with Rs. in आ and causal or denom. Rs. in आव् (or आ by § 33). — The masc. strong forms of the first set are never used, exc. in the obl. form इबे or अबे or (by elision of ब्) contr. ऐ. — The suff. आवट् is sometimes wrongly spelled आहट्, owing to a confusion with the suff. आहट् of § 284.

*Note.* Observe in adding these suff., 1) that in the first set the initial अ is elided after Rs. in आ, ए and R. हो be, and इ after Rs. in ई; 2) that before the suff. of the second and fourth sets, the termin. आव् of caus. and den. Rs. is elided, and final radical आ and ए are shortened. For the rest see § 298, note.

309. *Meaning.* These suff. are used to derive 1) part. fut., both pass. and act., and 2) verbal nouns, both of act and agency, from any root. Originally their derivatives were part. fut. *passive* only; but in the neuter gender they naturally came to express verbal nouns of act and thus were used as the (so-called) infinitive; for the “it is to be done” of a thing is equal to the “doing” of a thing. Next the pass. sense was dropped, as in the case of the past part. pass. (§ 301, note), and the part. used actively (e. g., in the formation of the fut. tense act. cf. § 509, 3); and thus it came to express verbal nouns of agency. The latter process was facilitated by the addition of pleon. suff., see § 314. With some intrans. verbs, as होब् to be, the part. fut. pass. ne-

cessarily has an active sense; and this may have led the way to the general practice of using this part. *actively*.

310. The first set is used to form the part. fut. or the inf. Thus हसिब् or हसिब् *what is to be laughed at or to laugh*, of R. हस् *laugh*; पठिब् or पठिब् *what is to be read or to read*, of R. पठ् *read*; कर्हिब् or कर्हिब् *what is to be done or to do*, of R. कर् *do*; छूहिब् or छूहिब् or छूहिब् *what is to be touched or to touch*, of R. छू *touch*; बोधिब् or बोधिब् or बोधिब् *what is to be sown or to sow*, of R. बो *sow*. But खाहिब् or खाहिब् *what is to be eaten or to eat*, of R. खा *eat*; कराहिब् or कराहिब् *what is to be caused to be done or to cause to do*, of C. R. करा *cause to do*; पीहिब् or पीहिब् *what is to be drunk or to drink*, of R. पी *drink*; देहिब् or देहिब् *what is to be given, debt or to give*, of R. दे *give*; होहिब् or होहिब् *what is to be, future, possible or to be*, of R. हो *be*. Thus मो के or मो से उ कर्हिब् खाटे *by me that is to be done*, or actively मै कर्हिब् (= कर्हिब् + उँ) *I shall do*. The fem. in इ is used only as a component part of the fut. tense act., as कर्हिस् (fem.) *thou wilt do* for कर्हि + स्, cf. § 509, 3.

311. The second set is used to form *nouns of act*. Thus आवा *coming*, of R. आव् *come*; जावा *going*, of R. जा *go*; खावा *eating*, of R. खा *eat*; सुकाव् or सुकाव् or सुकाव् *seeing*, of R. सूक् *see*; सिचाव् or सिचाव् or सिचाव् *irrigation*, of R. सीच् *irrigate*; ओलाव् or ओलाव् or ओलाव् *movement*, of R. ओल् *move*; लड़ाव् or लड़ाव् *fighting*, of R. लर् or लर् *fight*; चलाव् *dispatch*, of C. R. चलाव् *cause to go*. Very commonly the fem. expresses the *wages or price* paid for doing a thing, as रखावा *wages for keeping*, of R. रक् *keep*; कटावा *wages for cutting*, of R. काट्; बनावा *wages for making* or *price for making* of C. R. बनाव् *make*; लिखावा *wages for writing or dictation*, of R. लिख् *write* or C. R. लिखाव् *dictate*. The masc. strong form is very rarely used and, as a rule, has some special meaning; thus पहिरावा *dress* (lit., *what is to be put on*), of R. पहिर् *put on, wear*; बुलावा *a call*, of C. R. बुलाव् *call*, but बुलावा, बुलाव् *calling*; मिलावा *mixture*, of R. मिल् *mix*; चढावा *sacrifice*, of C. R. चढाव् *sacrifice* (lit., *cause to ascend*).

312. The third, fourth, fifth and sixth sets are used to form *nouns of agency*. The fourth set is the one commonly employed. Thus खाबू or खब्बू *glutton* or खवइया or खवैया *eater*, of R. खा *eat*; उराबू or उरब्बू or उरालू or उराला or उरवइया *timid, coward*, of R. उर *fear*; रखवारू or रखवारा or रखवइया or रखइया *guardian*, of R. रख *keep*; कगगारू or कगगलू *quarrelsome*, of R. कग *quarrel*; झवइया *thatcher*, of R. झा *thatch*; दिवइया *giver*, of R. दे *give*; चढवइया *rider*, of R. चढ *mount*; देखवइया *observer*, of R. देख *see*; सुनवइया *listener*, of R. सुन *hear*; बनवइया *maker*, of C. R. बनाव *make*, etc. The fem. makes nouns of act., as रखवारी *guarding*.

313. *Affinities*. The first and second sets occur in all Gds. as suff. of the part. fut. pass. or of nouns of act. (i. e., of the infinitive), exc. in P.<sup>1</sup>). Thus the first set in B. (wk. f.) इब् (in the fut. tense act., S. Ch. 146) and (st. f.) इबा or (by elision of ब्) contr. आ (as “gerund or verbal noun”, S. Ch. 149, i. e., as part. fut. pass. and inf.); this same आ or (uncontracted) इये (= इवे = इए) is used also in an *active* sense as a suff. of nouns of agency; e. g., घासकाटा *a grass cutter* (S. Ch. 154. 149). Similarly in O. (wk. f.) इब् (in the fut. act. Sn. 27) and (st. f.) इबा or contr. आ (Sn. 30). Also in W. H. (as inf. and part. fut. pass.) (st. f.) Br. अबाँ or अबाँ or इबाँ or इबाँ or Mw. अबाँ or अबाँ or इबाँ or इबाँ (obl. f. अवे or इवे, as in E. H.). In G. it occurs as the suff. of a part. fut. pass., ending in (st. f.) m. अवी, f. अवी, n. अवुँ, and forms the so-called “potential” (Ed. 57); e. g., मारे झोडवो हतो lit., *by me he should be delivered*; also as suff. of the infinit., viz. (st. f.) अवुँ neut. (Ed. 50. 112); e. g., झोडवुँ *to deliver*. Also in S. it occurs; though never to form an inf., but only a part. fut. pass. in इबाँ (in the fut. tense pass. Tr. 336), and strangely also a part. present pass. (Tr. 54); e. g., झडिबो pres. *being given up* (Tr. 331) or fut. *he shall be given up* (Tr. 336). Perhaps it exists also in the M. inf. termin. ऊँ, a strong form, contr. for इऊँ = इबूँ (Man. 61, 5. 71);

1) The so-called P. „gerund“ (Ld. 24. 45. 81) ending in उआ m., ई f., is identical with the past part. pass.; see the § on compound verbs.

e. g., सोडू to loose (for \*सोडिङ् = Mw. होडिओ, G. होडवू)<sup>1)</sup>. — The second set, which now forms in E. H. and similarly in W. H. verbal nouns only, is still used in M. to form the part. fut. pass., ending in (st. f.) आवे neut. (called "supine" in Man. 62. 61, 5), with an obl. f. आवया (= E. H. आवे) or (by eliding व्) contr. आया (= E. H. ऐ, B. इय). It also occurs in M. with the sense of a part. pres. pass. in the formation of the pres. conj. tense, ending in आवा m., आवी f., आवे n.; e. g., M. मी सुटावा *I may be loosed* (lit. *I am to be loosed*), or म्याँ सोटावा *I may loose him* (lit. *by me he may be loosed* or *by me he is to be loosed*); see § 509, 3. — The other sets occur also in W. H., except that there is no change of ल् to र् in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> sets; e. g., W. H. रखवाल् or °ला, f. °ली; कगडाल्. The 5<sup>th</sup> set occurs in M. as अवाडू or अवाडू (see Bs. II, 60; e. g., कन्हवाडू *pitiful*, of R. कन्ह *moan*); and in G. as अवानो (commonly used to form the fut. tense act.; e. g., होडवानो *he shall deliver*, of R. होड Ed. 61), the original pass. sense of which may be seen from its use in the so-called "potential" (Ed. 57); e. g., मारे होडवानो हतो lit., *by me he should be delivered*. The sixth set occurs in M. as आडू or आडू (see Man. 114. Bs. II, 60; e. g., खेमाडू *frolisome*, of R. खेल् *play*; खानाडू *itching*, of R. खान् *itch*); in S. as आरो or आर (Tr. 53; e. g., धारारो or धोरारो *pedlar*, of R. धोर *seek*; पीजारो *cotton-carder*, of R. पिञ्ज *card*).

314. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit तव्य forming the part. fut. pass. It is often added with the connecting vowel इ; thus इतव्य. The addition of इ is general in Pr. (Vr. 7, 33. H. C. 3, 157) and universal in Gd. The suff. इतव्यम् (nom. sg. neut.) becomes in Pr. एञ्चं or इञ्चं (H. C. 3, 157) and in Ap. \*एञ्चं or एञ्चं (H. C. 4, 438. K. I. 53 in Ls. 469, 5) or इञ्चं (K. I. 50 in Ls. 468, 3); finally in E. H. इञ् or अञ्. Similarly,

1) If it were not the long vowel ऊ, it might be taken as a contr. of the Pr. एउं or इउं = Skr. इतुम् H. C. 3, 157; like the M. conj. part. in उपा = Pr. एउपा or इउपा, Skr. \*इत्त्वानम्.

with the pleon. *अ* added, Skr. इत्यकम्, Pr. एञ्चञ्च or इञ्चञ्च, Ap. Sr. (a) एञ्चञ्च (H. C. 4, 438. 4, 354) or Ap. Mg. (b) एवा (= \*एवृए or \*एवृञ्च, cf. § 54), W. Gd. (a) इञ्चौ or अञ्चौ or E. Gd. (b) इञ्चा or अञ्चा or S. Gd. (b) अवे (= \*एवृञ्च). Thus Skr. कर्तव्यम् (or \*कर्तव्यम्), Pr. कर्ञ्चञ्च or कर्ञ्चञ्च, Ap. \*कर्ञ्चञ्च or कर्ञ्चञ्च or कर्ञ्चञ्च, E. H. कर्ञ्च or कर्ञ्च; again Skr. कर्तव्यकम्, Pr. कर्ञ्चञ्चञ्च or कर्ञ्चञ्चञ्च, Ap. (a) \*कर्ञ्चञ्च or (b) कर्ञ्चञ्चञ्च or (c) कर्ञ्चा; Gd. (a) M. कर्ञ्च, (b) W. H. कर्ञ्चौ, (c) O. कर्ञ्चा. It should be remarked, that H. C. expressly gives the neut. wk. f. एञ्च (H. C. 4, 441) as an inf. suffix, while the corresponding st. f. एञ्चञ्च and एवा (H. C. 4, 438) are mentioned as suff. of the part. fut. pass. — The suff. अवाङ् is a comp. of the suff. अञ्च or अञ्च + suff. अङ् of § 220; and the suff. अञ्चया a comp. of suff. अञ्च + pleon. suff. ऐया (of the redundant form, § 202); and the suff. अवाङ् or अवाङ्गा a comp. of suff. अञ्च + pleon. suff. अङ् or अङ्गा (§ 209); and the suff. अञ्चट् a comp. of suff. अञ्च + ट्. The nature of the latter element (ट्) is obscure. Perhaps it represents the Skr. suff. ता of abstract nouns (§ 220, also contained in the suff. अवाङ्) or त्वम् (or fem. \*त्वा in Mg., see Wb. Bh. 437); thus Skr. इत्यता or त्वम् = Mṛ. इञ्चता or Ap. \*एवृङ्गा, E. H. अञ्चट्; the change of ङ् to ट् (as in पट्पा for पत्तन H. C. 2, 29) may be owing to a confusion with the suff. अञ्चट् or अञ्चट् (§ 284) derived from the Skr. वृत्ता = Pr. वट्. — Again the suff. अङ्, अञ्चया and अञ्च (or अञ्चल) are contr. respectively from the suff. अवाङ्, अञ्चया and अवाङ्गा (or अवाङ्गा), by the elision of व्; just as the E. H. obl. f. ऐ is contr. for B. इये (= इवे), and the M. obl. f. अया for अञ्चया (§ 313). — The suff. त्वय, in course of time, lost its originally pass. sense and became active, as in B. अञ्च and इये (see § 313); in the other Gds., this process was facilitated by the addition of the pleon. suff. ऐया and अङ्गा = Ap. Pr. अञ्चञ्च (= अञ्चके) and अञ्चञ्च, the ञ् of which latter suff. changed, as usual in Gd., to क् or ल् or र् or न्. E. g., Ap. रञ्चञ्चञ्चञ्च (Skr. रञ्चित्वयः), W. H. रञ्चञ्चलौ or E. H. रञ्च; Ap. रञ्चञ्चञ्चञ्च, M. \*रञ्चञ्चञ्च or contr. रञ्चञ्च. Similarly the originally pass. suff. अनीया (of the part. fut.) and इत्त (of the past. part.) have become active



in Gd. (see §§ 316. 305). It is a remarkable fact, that the suff. त्व्य has suffered a precisely analogous change in the Latin *tivus*. Its derivatives occur very rarely in classic Latin, and, as a rule, are used passively, as *captivus* "prisoner", *votivus* „dedicated“; but *stativus* "appointed" or "stationary" is both pass. and act., and *fugitivus* "fugitive" is active. But in the later (low) Latin they are very common, and, as a rule, used actively; as *effectivus* „effective“, *operativus*, *contemplativus*, *negativus*, etc.

*Fourth Group.*

315. Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
1)	अन्	अना	अनी
2)	आवन् or आन्	अउना or औना	अउनी or औनी
3)	अनिहारू	अनिहारा	अनिहारी
4),	—	अनेवारा or °ला	अनेवारी or °ली

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others strong. The second set, on being added to caus. and den. roots in आव्, supersedes that termin. For the rest, see § 298, note.

316. *Meaning.* These suff. are used to derive 1) part. fut., both pass. and act., and 2) verbal nouns, both of act. and agency, from any root. The nouns of agency are, in fact, *part. fut. act.*, implying the habit of doing a thing. As to the change of the sense from pass. to act., see § 309. The verbal nouns of act., formed by these suff. and used as infinitives in W. H. and the other Gds., are seldom or never employed so in E. H.

317. All these suff. (exc. the strong femin. of the third set) are occasionally used to form the part. fut. pass., and generally have some particular meaning. Thus देन् or देना or देनी *what is to be given, a debt*, of R. दे *give*; लेन् or लेना or लेनी *what is to be taken, a receipt*, of R. ले *take*, as in the phrase 'लेन्'देन् *intercourse, traffic*; बजन् or बजना *what is to be played, a musical instrument*, of R. बज् *be played*; ओढना or ओढनी *what is to be put on, a cloak or sheet*, of R. ओढ् *put on, wear*; बिछावन् or बिछउना or बिछौना or f. °नी *what is to be spread, bed-clothes*, of R. बिछ् or बिछाव् *spread*; खेलउना or खेलौना, f. °नी *what is to be played*

with, a toy, of R. खेलं *play*; भरुना or भरौना *what is to be loaded, a load*, of R. भराव् *load*; कहौनी (H. H. कहानी) *what is to be said, a story*, of R. कह् *speak*; पहिरावन् or पहिरौनी *what is to be put on, garments*, of R. पहिर् *put on*; इउनी or इौनी *encampments, barracks* (lit., *what is to be thatched*), of R. झा *thatch*; पढ् or पढनी *what is to be read, spell, charm*, of R. पढ् *read*. Again होना, f. होनी, or m. f. होनिहार or m. ०रा, or m. होनेवारा, f. ०री *what is to be, possible, future*, and अहोना *impossible*, of R. हो (but होनेहारी *possibility, futurity*).

318. The third and fourth sets (exc. the strong femin. of the former) are used to form part. fut. act. or nouns of agency. Thus m. f. करनिहार, m. ०रा *one who is going to do or a doer*, of R. कर् *do*; m. f. पढनिहार or m. पढनिहारा or पढनेवारा or ०ला, f. ०री or ०ली *one who is going to read, a reader*, of R. पढ् *read*; m. f. देनेहार or m. ०रा or m. देनेवाला or ०रा, f. ०लो or ०री *one who is going to give, a giver*, of R. दे *give*, etc. Occasionally also the strong forms of the first and second sets form nouns of agency, as हँसना, f. ०नी *jester*, of R. हँस् *laugh*; उरुना or उरौना, f. ०नी *coward, timid*, of R. उर् *fear*; सुहना or सुहौना, f. ०नी *pleasing*, of R. सुहाव् *please*; घिनउना or घिनौना, f. ०नी *disgusting*, of R. घिनष् *nauseate*; पहिरुनी or पहिरौनी *a hire-woman*, of C. R. पहिराव् *attire*. The fem. in अनी often signifies an instrument, and the masc. in आन् a place; thus fem. खोदनी *a spade* (lit., *digger*), of R. खोद् *dig*; लेखनी *style, pen*, of R. लेख् *write, engrave*; कतरनी *scissors*, of R. कतर् *cut*; सुननी *sense of hearing*, of R. सुन् *hear*, etc.; and masc. उठान् *area, court*, of R. उठ् *rise*; बकान् *place for ensnaring*, of R. बाक् or बाकाव् *ensnare*; टिकान् *halting-place*, of R. टिक् *halt*.

319. The weak forms of the first and second sets and the strong femin. of the first, second and third sets are commonly used to form nouns of act. Thus m. कहन् or f. कहनी *speaking, speech*, of R. कह् *speak*; सुनन् or सुननी *hearing*, of R. सुन् *hear*; लेन् or लेनी *taking*, of R. ले *take*; कर्न् or कर्नी <sup>1)</sup> *action*, of R. कर् *do*; रहन् or रहनी <sup>1)</sup> *existence, living*, of R. रह् *remain, live*; होनी <sup>1)</sup> *occur*

1) Also कर्तब्, रहतब्, होतब् or होनिहार, which are clearly part.

rence, *accidence*, of R. हो *be*; सुकावन् *direction, advice*, of R. सुकाव् *show*; मनावन् *agreement, respect*, of R. मान् *respect* or मनाव् *persuade*; ब्रज्जी *dispute*, of R. ब्रज् *fight*; लिखनी *writing*, of R. लिख् *write*; सिखावन् *instruction*, of R. सिखाव् *teach*, etc. Especially 'the suff. अन्; as उगन् *flying*, of R. उड् *fly*; कुदान् *leaping*, of R. कृद् *leap*; चढान् *ascent, riding*, of R. चढ् *mount, ride*; डोलन् or डोलान् *movement*, of R. डोल् *move*; बइठान् *sitting, session*, of R. बइठ् *sit*; धरान् *holding*, of R. धर् *hold*; पकरान् *seizure*, of R. पकर् *seize*; सिचान् *irrigation*, of R. सीच् *irrigate*; उठान् *rising*, of R. उठ् *rise*; चलान् *clearance*, of R. चलाव् *dispatch*; लगान् *fighting*, of R. लड् *fight*, etc.

*Note:* उगन् *flying*, etc. may be also उगाव्, उगाई, उगावर्, etc.; see § 308. — The derivatives of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> sets must not be confounded with those of the Skr. suff. अन्, which are not E. H. formations but received from the Skr. as tats. or tadbh. The suff. अन् no longer exists as such in Gd., nor apparently did it do so in Pr. Its derivatives in E. H. can be often recognized by the fact of the non-existence of their roots in it. Thus E. H. पान् *beverage*, दान् *giving*, मान् *respect*, गवन् or गमन् *going*, बधावन् *presents*, etc., whose roots \*पा, \*दा, \*मा, \*गम्, \*वर्धाप्, etc. do not exist in E. H., at least in this particular form. But sometimes it may remain doubtful, whether an E. H. word is an old tadbh. deriv. of the Skr. suff. अन् or an E. H. formation of the present group.

320. *Affinities.* These suff. occur in all Gds.; but those of the 4<sup>th</sup> set are not properly E. H., nor generally E. or S. Gd. (cf. S. Ch. 154. Man. 113, 2), but introduced into them from the W. Gd., especially from W. H., P. (Ld. 24, 80) and S. (Tr. 76 अन्वारो or अन्नेवारो). — The third set is that commonly used in E. H.; it occurs also in W. H., P. (Ld. 24, 80) and S. (Tr. 75); in G. it is contr. to अन्तार् (forming the fut. act. tense, Ed. 61), also in M. अणार् or अणार् (forming the fut. part. act. or nouns

fut. pass. and thus disclose the etymological character of the words in the text.

of agency, Man. 63, 3. 64, 4). — The first and second set is used in all Gds. in the same way as in E. H.; moreover, the masc. strong form commonly serves as the (so-called) infinitive in W. H. (अनौ or अनौ in Br. and अनौ or अनौ in Mw.), P. (अणा or अना Ld. 24, 80); also in M. (neuter) अणौ (called “gerund” in Man. 61, 100. 62); and, in the weak form, in B. अन or अनि or अन or अनि (S. Ch. 149. 186), O. अण or अण (Sn. 30, 38), W. H. (Br.) अनि, S. अणु or इणु (Tr. 54. 251), N. अनु. The strong form exists also as a suff. of the part. fut. pass. in W. H. m. अनौ, f. अनौ, and S. m. अणो or इणो, f. अणी or इणी (Tr. 279. 55).

321. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit अनौ, which in Pr. becomes अणौ (Vr. 2, 17. H. C. 1, 248) or अणौ (as in पाणौ or पाणौ *water* = Skr. पानी Vr. 1, 18. H. C. 1, 101) or अणौ (or अणौ Wb. Bh. 418. H. C. 4, 443. 441). The latter form has already dropped the passive signification and become a suff. of act. or agency. From the Ap. forms अणौ or अणौ, by the addition of the pleon. suff. उ or उ or अउ or अउ, arise the forms अणौउ or अणौउ, which become अणौ or अणौ or अणौ or अणौ in M. and G.; and the form अणौउ, which (inserting euph. व्) appears in S. as अनौ, W. H. अनौ; and the forms अणौउ or अणौउ, which (inserting euph. ह्) appear in E. H. etc. as अनौ or अनौ. The simple Ap. form अणौ (H. C. 4, 443) appears in E. H. etc. as अना. The simple Ap. अणौ, which forms the inf. (H. C. 4, 441) appears in the W. H. infinitive in अनौ or अनौ; and the Ap. inf. suff. अणौ (H. C. 4, 441) in the W. H. inf. suff. अनौ or shortened अनि. — It is probable that in the popular usage the two krit suff. अनौ (pleon. अनौ = Pr. अणौ) and अनौ have become confused, so as to make a correct allotment of their respective derivatives a matter of difficulty. But as there can be no doubt, that the passive suff. तव्य has become an active suff. of act. and agency (see § 314), it is extremely probable that the same change has occurred in the case of the similar suff. अनौ, the modern derivatives of which exhibit remarkably analogous forms and meanings to those of the

suff. तव्य. — The secondary suff. वाला or वारा (§ 293) have contributed a further cause of popular confusion.

*Fifth Group.*

322. Set. 1) Fem. अत् or अती. Set. 2) Fem. आवत् or औती.

The forms in ई are strong, the others weak. As to the manner of adding them, see § 298, note.

323. These suff. are used to derive nouns of act. from a root; but they exist only in a limited number of words. Thus the first set in चुक्त् or चुकती *settlement*, of R. चुक् *finish*; चुनत् *plaiting*, *plaits*, of R. चुन् *plait*; बसती *dwelling*, *village*, of R. बस् *dwell*; भरती *filling up*, *enlistment*, of R. भर *fill*; चढती *rising*, *gain*, of R. चढ् *rise*; बढती *increase*, of R. बढ् *increase*; घटती *decrease*, of R. घट् *decrease*; लगती *belonging*, *assessment*, of R. लग् *belong*. Occasionally the root is not in use, as in अढत् *commission* (lit., *increase*), of R. \*अढ्; बिनती *information*, *petition*, of R. \*बिन्. The second set in समुकावत् or समुकौती *explaining*, of R. समुकाव् *explain*; हुटौती *release*, of R. हुटाव् *release*; मनौती *security*, of R. मनाव् *cause to trust*.

324. *Affinities.* These suff. exist in all Gds. Those of the second set, however, appear to be extinct in B. and O., see Bs. II, 108. In M. they are ऊत् and अवती; in G. औती or उती; in P. and W. H. आवत्, औती. Thus W. H. and P. समुकौती, G. समनुती, M. समनुत्; W. H. and P. मनौती, G. मनौती; W. H. and P. चुकौती, M. चुकवती. S. seems to have only the first set in अति (Tr. 49).

325. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit ति (fem.), added to the caus. or denom. radical suff. आप् (§ 349); thus आप्ति or, with pleon. क added, आप्तिका; and in Pr. अती or अतिष्ठा, in E. H. अत् or अती. Thus Skr. विज्ञापिका, Mg. विज्ञप्तिष्ठा, E. H. बिनती; or Skr. \*वर्धपिका (of R. वृध्), Mg. वृध्तिष्ठा, E. H. बढती; or Skr. \*वर्धपिः (of R. ऋध्), Mg. ऋध्नी (cf. T. V. 3, 1. 13)<sup>1</sup>), E. H. अढत्, M. अउत्, O., B., G., S. आउत् (see Bs.

1) According to H. C. 4, 81 Pr. substitutes आउत् for the Skr. R.

H, 53). — By the dissolution of the conjunct प्, the forms Pr. आवती or आवतिष्ठा, E. H. आवत् or औती might arise; thus Skr. \*मनाविका, Mg. \*मपावतिष्ठा, E. H. मनौती (for मनवती or मनउती, §§ 25. 34. 78).

*Sixth Group.*

326. Com. gen. अ. Masc. आ. Fem. ई.

The form अ is weak; the others are strong. As to the manner of adding them, see § 298, note.

327. These suff. are used to derive nouns of act. from any root. As a rule they are fem. Thus सूक् sight, of R. सूक् see; लयेर् f. *draggling* (W. H. लयेर्), of R. लयेर् *dragg*; चपेट् f. or चपेटा m. a *slap*, of R. चपेट् *slap*; खेल् m. or f. *play*, of R. खेल् *play*; चाल् f. *walking, conduct, custom*, of R. चाल् or चल् *walk*; पक्क् f. *seizure* (W. H. पक्क्), of R. पक्क् *seize*; हँस् m. f. or हँसा m., हँसी f. *laughter*, of R. हँस् *laugh*; दउङ् f. or दउङा m. or दउङी f. *running, race*, of R. दउङ् *run*; रगङ् f. or रगङा m. *rubbing*, of R. रगङ् *rub*; फेर् m. or फेरा m. or फेरी f. *turning, circumambulation*, of R. फेर् *turn*; दाब् m. *pressure, force, fear*, of R. दाब् *press*; बोल् m. or बोली f. *speech, dialect*, of R. बोल् *speak*; पङ्ताव् m. or पङ्तावा m. *repentance*, of R. पङ्ताव् *repent*, etc.

328. *Affinities.* These suff. exist in all Gds., with very slight differences: W. H. has m. f. अ, and m. औ or ओ, f. ई; S. m, उ, f. अ or इ, and m. ओ, f. ई (Tr. 46, 47); G. m. f. अ, and m. ओ, f. ई; M., B. and O. have the same as E. H. Thus M. बोल्, बोली *speaking, language* (Man. 107); बाँध्, बाँधा *binding, embankment*, of R. बाँध् (Man. 107), etc.; S. भोल् f. *error*, E. H. भूल्, of R. भुल्; S. घाटि f. or घाटो m. *decrease*, of R. घट्; S. फेरु m. *turning* (Tr. 46. 47). Further examples see in Bs. II, 51. 52.

329. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit अ, which (in the nom. sing.) forms m. अः, f. आ and, with pleon. क added, m. अकः, f. इका. These are in Mg. m. ए, f. आ,

व्याप्; T. V. 3, 1. 13 gives आअड्ड्; thus H. C. आअड्ड्, T. V. आअड्ड्. The derivation is obscure; but it seems rather to be connected with the R. ऋध्.

and m. अष्ट, f. इष्टा; whence E. H. m. f. अ (cf. §§ 42. 45) and m. आ, f. ई (cf. §§ 47. 51). Thus Skr. क्रीडः or क्रीडा (or खेला), Mg. खेले or खेल्ला (cf. H. C. 4, 382), E. H. खेल; again Skr. हसः or हसिका, A. Mg. हसे or हसिआ, E. H. हस् or हसो, etc.

*Seventh Group.*

330.

Com. gen. उ or आउ.

Both forms are strong. Causal roots in आउ take the suff. आउ which supersedes the caus. termination; that is, उ is added to आउ, the उ of which is elided.

331. These suff. are used to derive nouns of (habitual) agency from any root. Thus उ in खाउ *cater, glutton*, of R. खा; उचाहू *vexatious*, of R. उचाहू *vex*; मारू *fighter, beater*, of R. मारू *beat*; मूँड *ascetic* (lit., *one who shaves his head*), of R. मूँड *shave*; काहू *cutter, biter*, of R. काहू *cut, bite*; कारू *sweeper, broom*, of R. कारू *sweep* (W. H. काहू); जागू *vigilant*, of R. जागू *wake*; बिगाडू *spoiler*, of R. बिगाडू *spoil*, etc. Again आउ; in कगडाउ *quarrelsome*, of R. कगडू *quarrel*; उगडाउ *spendthrift*, of R. उगडाउ *squander* (lit., *cause to fly*); कमाउ *laborer, bread-winner*, of R. कमाउ *labor, earn*; टिकाउ *stationary*, of R. टिक् *stop*; बिकाउ *saleable*, of R. बिक *sell* (intrans.); फुसलाउ *coaxer, tempter*, of R. फुसलाउ *coax*. Occasionally the root no more exists in E. H. as डाँकू or डाकू *robber*, of R. \*डाँकू *bite* or *overpower*.

332. *Affinities.* These suff. are not properly E. H., nor E. Gd., but W. Gd., whence they have been introduced. W. H., P. and S., like the E. H. (Tr. 51), have उ and आउ; G. appears to have a weak form in उ, as खाउ *cater*, काडू *broom*, etc.; see Bs. II, 37 where other examples will be found; it may, however, be strong; for G. has a tendency to shorten a strong final उ or ओ; e. g., Ap. Pr. सोखडं, Mw. सोनो is in G. सोनुँ or सोनु *gold* (Skr. सुवर्णकम्).

333. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit तृ or, with pleon. क added, तृक; the ऋ of which has a tendency to change to उ in Pr. (cf. H. C. 3, 44), also in Pāli (see Ms. 40. Bs. II, 57). Whence (nom. sing.) Pr. उ or उओ (= \*तृ: or

\*तृकः), W. Gd. उ or ऊ; e. g., Skr. भर्ता *husband* (base भर्तृ), Pr. भर्तू (H. C. 3, 44), Gd. *deest* (E. H. has भतारू, Pr. भर्तारा H. C. 3, 44); Skr. पिता *father* (base पितृ), Pr. पिउ or पिउओ (H. C. 1, 131), P. पिउ or पिउ; Skr. भ्राता *brother* (base भ्रातृ), Pr. भाउ or भाउओ (H. C. 1, 131) or Ap. भाउ or भाउउ (cf. H. C. 4, 398), P. भाउ or भाउ or भ्राउ or भ्राउ (cf. Ld. 10, 30), S. भाउ, M. भाउ. Similarly Skr. दंष्ट्रकः (of R. दंश् or दंस्) *one who bites or overpowers*, Pr. उक्कुओ (cf. H. II. 2, 2 उक्को = Skr. दष्टः *bitten*), Ap. उक्कुउ, W. Gd. डाकू *robber*. — The suff. तृ was often added in Skr. with the connecting vowel इ; thus इतृ. This was, probably, generally done in Pr. (see the analogous cases of the suff. इत and इतव्य §§ 306. 314), and universally in Gd. Whence we have in Pr. इउ or इउओ and (with absorption of इ) in W. Gd. उ (G.) or ऊ (W. H., P., S.). Thus Skr. खादिता *eater* (base खादितृ), Pr. खाइउ or खाइउओ, G. खाउ or W. H. खाउ; Skr. मारितृ *beater*, Pr. मारिउ or मारिउओ, G. मारु or W. H. मारू, etc. — The suff. आउ contains the caus. or denom. suff. आप्; thus Skr. कर्मापयितृ *worker*, Pr. कम्मावेउओ or कम्मावउओ, W. Gd. कमाउ, where व् is elided and the hiatus-vowels contracted, as usual in caus. or denom. verbs (e. g., W. H. part. pres. कम्मातु *working* = Pr. कम्मावंतो or कम्मावेंतो).

#### *Eighth Group.*

334.	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
	1)	अक्	अका	अकी
	2)	आक्	आका	आकी

The forms of com. gen. are weak; the others strong. As to the manner of adding them, see § 298, note.

335. The first set forms nouns of act. In many cases the original root is no longer in use; and the derivative itself, in its weak form, is employed as a root. The weak form is, as a rule, fem. Thus बइठक् f. or बइठका m. *sitting, seat*, of R. बइठ् *sit*; कसक् f. *pain*, of R. कस् *tighten*; तडक् f. *cracking, cleft*, तर्का *day-break*, of R. \*तर or तर्क् (W. H. तडक्) *crack*; कयक् f. or कयका m., °की f. *glittering*, of R. \*कम् (*wave*) or कयक् *glitter*; कलक् f. *glitter*, कलकी f. *glance*, of R. \*ज्वल् or कलक् *glitter*; कपक् f. or °की m. or



°की f. *snatch, wink*, of R. \*कप् be quick (Skr. अद्यत् ?); कटक् f. or °का m. *twitch*, of R. \*कट् be quick (Skr. अद्यत् ?); फडक् f. *palpitation*, फडकी *partition, screen*, of R. फाड् split; फाटक् m. *gate*, of R. फाट् split; सडक् f. *road*, of R. सट् join?, etc. •

336. The second set is used to derive nouns of agency from roots. Thus चराक् m. or f. *an animal that grazes*, of R. चर् graze; चलाक् m. or f. *active, clever*, चलाकी f. *cleverness* (see § 257), of R. चल् walk, move; दडगक् m. or f. *runner, racer*, of R. दड् run; लराक् m. or f. or °का m., °की f. *quarrelsome*, of R. लर् (W. H. लड्) fight; उडगक् m. or f. *capable of flying, fledged*, of R. उड् fly; पडराक् swimmer, पैराकी act or art of swimming, of R. पड् swim, etc.

337. *Affinities.* These suff. exist in all Gds.; but the W. Gds. have final औ or ओ for E. Gd. आ; and S. has आकु or आक् for E. H. आक् or आका (Tr. 52, 9). Examples, see in Bs. II, 31—33. 42. 43. They are exactly the same as in E. H.

338. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit अक, which is really a compound of the krit suff. (or nominal termin.) अ and the nominal base क (probably = कृत् doing, of R. कृ do) meaning *doing, agent*. On this subject see § 353. The derivatives of the suff. अक, therefore, are really compound words, made up of two nominal bases, one ending in अ, the other being क; e. g., Skr. कर्षक = कर्ष + क lit. *making a tightening*, E. H. कसक्. An initial क् of the second part of a compound has a tendency to be preserved or even doubled in Pr.; e. g., अम्हक्कोरं or अम्हक्कोरं (H. C. 2, 99 = अम्ह + कोरं), पडिक्कूलं or पडिक्कूलं (H. C. 2, 93 = प्रति + कूलं), मुक्को or मुक्को (H. C. 2, 99 = मू + क lit. *made fast*, i. e., *dumb*). Hence the preservation of it in the Gd., suffixes. — The second set, probably, contains the denom. suff. आप्, and is equal to Skr. आपक; thus Skr. उड्वापक, Mg. उड्वापके or उड्वापके, E. H. उडगक्, with elision of व् and contraction of the hiatus-vowels.

## SECOND CHAPTER. ROOTS.

339. The usual rule in 'Hindī grammars for ascertaining the form of the root is, to reject the suff. of the infinitive. This rule holds good for the E. H. also. The root is obtained by detaching the suff. *ञ्* or *इञ्* (§ 308). Thus R. पठ् from inf. पठञ् *to read*; R. ब्रूक् from inf. ब्रूकञ् *to know*; R. खा from inf. खाइञ् or खाञ् *to eat*. In some cases, however, a *व्* or *य्* must be either supplied or omitted; thus R. पाव् from inf. पाइञ् *to obtain* (for \*पाविञ् § 33); R. जी from inf. जीयञ् *to live*; R. चू from inf. चूवञ् or चृवञ् *to drip*; R. रो from inf. रोवञ् or रोम्वञ् *to weep*, etc. It will be found that with a few exceptions (about 25) which have a final vowel, all E. H. roots terminate with a consonant.

340. The same result, however, is obtained by taking the 3<sup>d</sup> pers. sing. pres. conj. (see § 495) and detaching from it the termination ऐ (or य्); thus R. पठ्, from पठै *he reads*; R. ब्रूक्, from ब्रूकै *he knows*; R. पाव्, from पावै *he obtains*; R. खा, from खाय् *he eats*; R. जी, from जीयै *he lives*; R. चू, from चूरे *he drips*; R. रो, from रोरे or रोवै *he weeps*. Moreover, this, unlike the ordinary method, presents the E. H. root in the most convenient form for comparing it with the original Skr. root which it represents. Thus while in such cases as that of the inf. पठञ् *to read* and 3. sg. pres. conj. पठै *he reads*, both forms lead equally well to the original Skr. root पठ्, through their respective Skr. and Pr. equivalents (viz., inf. Ap. Pr. पठिञ्, Skr. पठितव्यम् and pres. Pr. पठइ, Skr. पठति); on the other hand, in such cases as ब्रूकञ् *to know*, it is only the 3. sg. ब्रूकै *he knows*, which leads through its equivalents, Pr. वुक्कइ, Skr. वुध्यते (i. e. वुध्-य-ते), to the original (Skr.) form of the root वुध्; for the inf. ब्रूकञ् can, by no possibility, be an equivalent of the Skr. बोधितव्यम्. Its Skr. equivalent would be, if it could exist at all, some such form as \*बुध्यितव्यम्. Such inf. as ब्रूकञ्, in fact, are purely Gd. formations, made from a previously changed radical form ब्रूक्. For the explanation of this and similar radical changes, see §§ 344—349.

341. *Affinities.* On the whole, the Gds. show a very close agreement with one another, as regards roots; especially the E. and W. H. The differences are, in general, only phonetic. Thus E. H. uses र् and ल्, where W. H. has र् and ल् (see §§ 29. 30); e. g., E. H. पर् *fall*, W. H. पड्; E. H. चर् *walk*, W. H. चल्. Or E. H. has ह् where M. has स् (see § 11); e. g., E. H. छुट् *be loosed*, छोट् *loose*, M. सुट्, सोड. Or E. H. has an aspirate, where M. has a tenuis (see § 145, note); e. g., E. H. सिख् or सीख् *learn*, M. शिक्, etc. Sometimes the difference is greater, and is either phonetic or due to different derivation; e. g., E. H. ब्रेस् *sit*, N. बस्, P. बह्, S. बिह (Skr. उपविष्, cf. § 173); or E. H. सूत् *sleep* (den. of the Skr. part सुप्, § 352), W. H. सो (Skr. R. स्वप्). Sometimes the same root, though it may exist in both languages, is common in one, but uncommon in the other; e. g., E. H. गोहराक् *call*, W. H. पुकार्. There are, however, a few roots, especially in S. and M., which do not exist in E. H.; e. g., S. पस् *see*, M. पाह् *see*, but E. H. दिस् or देख्, which are also S. and M.

342. If the E. H. roots are examined, they will be found capable of division into two classes. Firstly, those which, though disguised more or less by phonetic modifications, are direct representatives of old Skr. roots (single or compound); secondly such as, though ultimately connected with Skr. roots, are not directly traceable to any of them. Examples of the first kind are: E. H. चल्, Skr. चल् *walk*; E. H. तप्, Skr. तप् *be hot*; E. H. ज्ञान्, Skr. ज्ञा *know*; E. H. कर्, Skr. कृ *do*; E. H. ओ, Skr. वप् *sow*; E. H. खा, Skr. खाद् *eat*; E. H. चू, Skr. श्र्युत् *leak*; E. H. कोप्, Skr. कुप् *be angry* (§ 148); E. H. ओल्, Skr. वद् *speak*; E. H. मल्, Skr. मृद् *rub*; E. H. तूट् or टूट्, Skr. नूट् *break* (§ 174); E. H. घस्, Skr. घर् *rub*; E. H. परिस्, Skr. स्पर्श् *touch* (§ 58, note); E. H. परास्, Skr. परिविष् *distribute* (§ 122, 5); E. H. देख्, Skr. दृश् *see*; E. H. उठ, Skr. उत्था *rise*; E. H. कौट्, Skr. ऋधृद् *sweep* (§ 172), etc. Of the second kind are: E. H. भूल् *forget*, cf. Skr. भ्रमर्; E. H. हाह् *wish*, cf. Skr. उत्साह् (§ 173); E. H. बइह् *sit*, cf. Skr. उपविष्ट (§ 173); E. H. पइह् *enter*, cf. Skr. प्रविष्ट; E. H. सूत् *sleep*, cf. Skr. सुप्; E. H.

निकाल् or निकाङ् *eject*, cf. Skr. निष्कृष्ट (cf. §§ 113. 114); E. H. जताव् *make known*, cf. Skr. ज्ञाप; E. H. पलट् or पलट् *turn over*, cf. Skr. पर्यस्त (§ 143); E. H. पक् *cook*, cf. Skr. पक्; E. H. पहिचान् *recognize*, cf. Skr. परिचिदनम् (§ 69); E. H. कौक् *spy, peep*, cf. Skr. धां कृ; E. H. योक् *vomit*, cf. Skr. वम कृ; E. H. कडक् *crack, rumble*, cf. Skr. कर्द कृ; E. H. धौक् *blow*, cf. Skr. धुमं कृ, etc. The first class of roots I shall designate *primary*, the other *secondary*.

### 1. PRIMARY ROOTS.

343. The phonetic disguises which affect the primary roots and make them differ more or less from their Skr. originals, are generally owing to the following causes: 1) phonetic permutation of the radical consonant or vowel; 2) the incorporation of the Sanskritic „class-suffix“ into the root; 3) the change of the Sanskritic „class“ of the root; 4) the addition of the pleonastic radical suff. अपि. Not unfrequently several of these causes act together. On the other hand a few roots, favored by peculiar phonetic circumstances, remain altogether unchanged so as to be identical in E. H. and in Skr.

344. *Phonetic permutation.* 1) Final radical consonants are principally exposed to this cause of change, because through the accretion of the (so-called) „class-suffix“, they generally become medial, and then, in their progress through Pr. and according to its laws, liable to permutation or elision. Thus E. H. खा *eat* for Pr. खा, Skr. खाद्; as 3<sup>d</sup> sing. pres. Skr. खादति, Pr. खाअइ or खाइ (Vr. 8, 27), E. H. खाय्. Sometimes, however, a root contains a final consonant which Pr. tolerates, and thus identical roots arise; e. g., E. H. चल *walk* for Pr. चल, Skr. चल; as Skr. चलति, Pr. चलइ, E. H. चलै. Hence, when the E. H. exhibits an (apparently) identical root with Skr. (as E. H. तप् *be hot*), containing a final consonant, which would ordinarily be liable to change in Pr., the identity is open to suspicion, and is, probably, to be accounted for in a different way, namely by the incorporation of „the class-suffix“, see § 345. — 2) Initial radical consonants are rarely

liable to change, and, indeed, never change, unless they are compound consonants or a prefix is added, when the initial cons., being now medial, is either changed or elided in Pr.; but such roots are of unfrequent occurrence in E. H.; thus E. H. *चू leak* for Pr. *चु (चो)*, Skr. *च्युत्* or *च्युत्*; as Skr. *च्योतति*, Pr. *चुचइ* (H. C. 2, 77) or *चोचइ*, E. H. *चूरे*; or E. H. *परोस् offer food* for Pr. *परिवेस्*, Skr. *परिवेष्* (caus. of *परि-विष्*); as Skr. *परिवेषयति*, Pr. *परिवेसेइ* or *परिवेसइ*, E. H. *परोसै* (§ 122, 5). Very exceptionally a real single initial cons. is changed; e. g., E. H. *हो be* for Pr. *हुव*, Skr. *भू* (§ 176, note), as Skr. *भवति*, Pr. *हुवइ* or *होइ* (Vr. 8, 1), E. H. *होय he is*; but the original *भू* is preserved in the E. H. past part. *भइल् been*. — 3) Radical vowels occasionally suffer a change; sometimes through the vocalisation of an adjoining semivowel (*य* or *व*, §§ 121. 122); thus E. H. *हो be* for Pr. *हुव* or *हव*, Skr. *भू*; E. H. *भील् moisten* for Skr. *अभ्यार्द्* (§ 172); sometimes by the ordinary phonetic laws; thus E. H. *मल् rub* for Pr. *मल्*, Skr. *मृद्*, as Skr. *मर्दति*, Pr. *मलइ* (H. C. 4, 126), E. H. *मलै* (§ 109); or E. H. *तूट् or टूट् break* for Pr. *तुट्*, Skr. *तुट्*, see §§ 143. 147. 174; E. H. *कोप् be angry* for Pr. *कुप्*, Skr. *कुप्*, see §§ 143. 148. — 4) Exceptionally the initial vowel of the prefix of a compound root is elided; as E. H. *इह wish* for Pr. \**उच्छाह्*, see § 173; or E. H. *कौट sweep* for Pr. *अत्कट्*, see § 172.

345. *Incorporation of the „class-suffix“.* Skr. roots are divided into *ten* classes, according to the suffix which they assume for the purpose of forming the conjugational base for the four principal tenses or moods (pres., imperf., potent., imper.). In all other tenses these „class-suffixes“ are rejected and the root used alone. Already in Pr., however, it had become the custom, sometimes to incorporate the class-suff. and to use the root, thus amended, as the conjug. base in all tenses (or moods) and derivative verbs (passive, causal, etc.). In Gd. this usage has been still more extended. Thus E. H. has R. *ज्ञान् know* for Pr. *ज्ञाप्* and *ज्ञा*, Skr. *ज्ञा*, through incorporating the suff. *ना* of the IX<sup>th</sup> class, as Skr. *जानाति*, Pr. *ज्ञापाइ* (cf. H. C. 3, 154. Ls.

348 = ज्ञ + णा + इ) or ज्ञाणइ (Vr. 8, 23 = ज्ञाण् + ञ + इ); E. H. ज्ञानै; or E. H. चुन् *gather* for Pr. चुण् or चिण् or चि, Skr. चि, through incorporating the suff. नु of the V<sup>th</sup> cl.; as Skr. चिनोति, Pr. चिणोइ (cf. Ls. 347 = चि-णो-इ) or चिणइ or चुणइ (Vr. 8, 29. H. C. 4, 238 = चिण् or चुण् + ञ + इ), E. H. चुनै; or E. H. नाच् *dance* for Pr. णच्, Skr. नृत्, through incorporating the suff. य् of the IV<sup>th</sup> cl., as Skr. नृत्यति, Pr. णच्चइ (Vr. 8, 47 = णच् + ञ + इ), E. H. नाचै, etc. It should be noticed, that the incorporation of the class-suff. is more or less optional in Pr. and, indeed, exceptional as regards the so-called „general“ tenses and derivat. verbs (cf. Wb. Spt. 59); but in Gd. it is absolute. It may be surmised that, while this was the case in the literary Pr., in the more vulgar Ap. dialects, from which the Gd. took its immediate origin, incorporation was the usual, perhaps the general, practice. That it was a real incorporation of the suff. into the root, even in Pr., can be seen clearly from those forms in which according to Skr. usage the class-suff. could have no place; such as ज्ञापिञ्चं (lit., Skr. \*ज्ञानितम्) *known*, but also regularly णाचं (H. C. 4, 7), for Skr. ज्ञातम्; or Pr. ज्ञापिऊण (lit., Skr. \*ज्ञानित्वा) or regularly णाऊण (H. C. 4, 7), for Skr. ज्ञात्वा *having known*; or Pr. ज्ञाणावेइ (H. C. 3, 149), for Skr. ज्ञापयति (lit. \*ज्ञानापयति) *he caused to know*; or Pr. चिपिहिइ or चिद्धिहिइ (H. C. 4, 243), for Skr. चेष्यति (lit. \*चिनिष्यति or \*चिन्विष्यति, i. e., चिन् or चिन्-इष्यति) *he will gather*; or Pr. चिव्वइ (H. C. 4, 242), for Skr. चीयते (lit., Skr. \*चिन्व्यते or Pr. \*चिणुईच्चइ) *it is gathered*; or Pr. सुञ्चइ (Spt. 46) or सुणईच्चइ (cf. H. C. 4, 302. Dl. 24, lit. \*सुन्व्यते), but also regularly सुव्वइ (H. C. 4, 242), for Skr. श्रूयते (lit. \*श्रुव्यते) *it is heard*; or Pr. सुपिऊण (lit., Skr. \*सुनित्वा) or regularly सोऊण (H. C. 4, 241), for Skr. श्रुत्वा *having heard*; or Pr. णाच्चाविच्चइ (H. C. 1, 33), for Skr. नर्तितानि (lit. \*नृत्यापितानि) *caused to dance*; or Pr. कर्त्तच्च (lit. \*कर्त्तव्य) or regularly कटुच्च (H. C. 4, 272), for Skr. कृत्वा *having done*, etc. In E. H. this incorporation is so thoroughly established, that the old radical forms have entirely disappeared, and their places have been taken by the new ones, even, e. g., as the base for the formation of the ver-

bal noun in *ज्ञ* which is the source of the modern infinitive (§§ 308—314); thus E. H. *ज्ञानञ्* to know for Skr. *ज्ञातव्यम्* (lit. \**ज्ञानितव्यम्*); E. H. *नाचञ्* to dance for Skr. *नर्तितव्यम्* (lit. \**नृत्यितव्यम्*), etc. This process explains why many Skr. roots ending in a vowel terminate in E. H. with a consonant.

*Note:* In most of the above examples there is not only an incorporation of the class-suff., but simultaneously also a change of the „class“; see § 347.

346. An exactly analogous process is the *incorporation of the passive suff.* *य*, by which means a few intransitive roots are formed in E. H. from Skr. transitive (active) roots; e. g., the Skr. R. *चप्* is trans. *press*, but the E. H. R. *चप्* is intrans. *be put down, be abashed*, and equal to the Skr. pass. R. *चय*; as Skr. pass. *चयते* *he is pressed*, Pr. *चप्इ*, E. H. *चपै*, etc. Sometimes both the Skr. and Gd. Rs. are intrans.; e. g., E. H. *चारू* (W. H. *चालू*) and Skr. *चल्* *walk*, as Skr. pass. *चल्यते* (but act. *चलति*), Pr. *चल्लइ* (Vr. 8, 53, but act. *चलइ* H. C. 4, 231), W. H. *चालै* or E. H. *चारै* (but act. W. H. *चलै*, E. H. *चरै*), etc. In rare cases both are trans.; e. g., E. H. *सीच्* and Skr. *सिच्* *irrigate*; as Skr. pass. *सिच्यते* (but act. *सिचति*), Pr. *सिच्चइ* (H. C. 4, 230, but act. *सिंचइ* H. C. 4, 239), E. H. *सीचै* (but act. *सीचै*), etc. Other examples, see § 348.

*Note:* In most cases of this kind also a change of „voice“ from pass. to act. takes place; see § 348.

347. *Change of „class“.* The Skr. distribution of roots into ten classes had already in Pr. become, to a considerable extent, obliterated. In Gd. it has disappeared altogether. While Skr. has ten classes, of which the I<sup>st</sup> (incl. VI<sup>th</sup>) and the X<sup>th</sup> (incl. denom. and causal) include by far the largest number of roots, Pr. has, in the main, only two, of which one corresponds to the Skr. VI<sup>th</sup> (or I<sup>st</sup>) and the other to the Skr. X<sup>th</sup> cl. The remaining classes occur in Pr. only in extremely isolated and exceptional cases; but as a rule, roots belonging to them are transferred into the VI<sup>th</sup><sup>1)</sup> (or occasionally X<sup>th</sup>) class, either 1) by

1) It is usual to say the I<sup>st</sup> cl. (cf. Wb. Spt. 59. Ls. 334); but it seems

substituting the suff. *अ* of the VI<sup>th</sup> (or X<sup>th</sup>) for their proper class-suff. (नु of the V<sup>th</sup>, न of the VII<sup>th</sup>, उ of the VIII<sup>th</sup>, ना of the IX<sup>th</sup>, ण of the IV<sup>th</sup>), see \*H. C. 4, 239; or 2) by incorporating the latter with the root and, when necessary, eliding and changing the final vowel of such class-suff. (उ, अ) into *अ*, the characteristic of the VI<sup>th</sup> and X<sup>th</sup> classes (cf. Wb. Spt. 59 ff. Ls. 334); or 3) by interpolating the suff. *अ* of the VI<sup>th</sup> class. For example; R. चि *gather* is in Skr. of the V<sup>th</sup> cl., base चिनु, hence 3. sg. pres. चिनोति, but in Pr. it becomes of the VI<sup>th</sup> cl., by incorporating नु and changing उ to *अ*, hence base चिण, 3. sg. pres. चिणङ् (Vr. 8, 29); or again R. प्राप् *obtain* is in Skr. of the V<sup>th</sup> cl., hence base प्राप्, 3. sg. pres. प्रप्नोति, but in Pr. of the VI<sup>th</sup> cl., by substituting the suff. *अ* of the VI<sup>th</sup> for नु, hence base पाव, 3. sg. pres. पावङ् (H. C. 4, 239); or again R. भञ् *break* is in Skr. of the VII<sup>th</sup> cl., hence base भनञ्, 3. sg. pres. भनक्ति, but in Pr. of the VI<sup>th</sup> cl., by incorporating न and eliding its *अ*, hence base भञ्, 3. sg. pres. भञङ् (H. C. 4, 106); similarly in Pr. पोसेदि or पिंसेदि (Ls. 347), for Skr. पिनष्टि, there is a transfer of the R. पिष् from the VII<sup>th</sup> into the X<sup>th</sup> cl.; or again R. कृ *do* is in Skr. of the VIII<sup>th</sup> cl., hence base कर्, 3. sg. pres. करोति, but in Pr. of the VI<sup>th</sup> or I<sup>st</sup> or X<sup>th</sup> cl., by changing the suff. उ of the VIII<sup>th</sup> to *अ*, hence base °कृ (i. e., कृ) or कर् or करे (i. e., कर्य), 3. sg. pres. °कृङ् (as in लुक्कृङ् Spt. 173 = Skr. लूकरोति) or करङ् (Vr. 8, 13)

to me, on the whole, that the form which such Pr. roots take, is more accurately described as that of the VI<sup>th</sup> cl. The I<sup>st</sup> differs from the VI<sup>th</sup> cl. by *gunating* and *accentuating* the radical vowel; the VI<sup>th</sup> does not *gunate* the radicals and *accentuates* the suffixal vowel. Now in many cases Pr. does not *gunate* the rad. vowel; e. g., in चिणङ्, सुणङ्, where if they were of the I<sup>st</sup> cl., it should be चेणङ्, सोणङ्; for the Rs. are, practically, चिण्, सुण्. Again in many other cases the final rad. sound is a comp. cons., which precludes the *gunation* of the rad. vowel and thus renders it impossible to determine the class by this sign; e. g., in भञङ्, पाञङ्. Here the class could only be determined by the accent; but as Pr. (and Gd.) is devoid of the old Aryan accent, this aid to determine the class also fails. Thus circumstances are in favor of its being the VI class.



or क॑रेइ (H. C. 4, 337); or again R. ज्ञा *know* is in Skr. of the IX cl., hence base ज्ञाना, 3. sg. pres. ज्ञानाति, but in Pr. of the VI<sup>th</sup> or X<sup>th</sup>, by incorporating ना and changing आ to अ, hence base ज्ञाया or ज्ञायो (i. e., ज्ञानय), 3. sg. pres. ज्ञायाइ (Vr. 8, 23) or ज्ञायोइ (Dl. 15); or again R. ग्रह् *seize* is in Skr. of the IX<sup>th</sup> cl., hence base गृह्णा, 3. sg. pres. गृह्णाति, but in Pr. of the VI<sup>th</sup> or X<sup>th</sup>, by substituting their suff. अ (अय) for ना, hence base गेह् or गेहे (i. e., गेह्य), 3. sg. pres. गेहइ (Vr. 8, 15) or गेहेदि (Dl. 90); or again R. नृत् *dance* is in Skr. of the IV<sup>th</sup> cl., hence base नृत्य, 3. sg. pres. नृत्यति, but in Pr. of the VI<sup>th</sup> or X<sup>th</sup>, by incorporating य, hence base पाञ्च or पाञ्चे, 3. sg. pres. पाञ्चइ (Vr. 8, 47) or पाञ्चेदि (Dl. 50); or again R. रुद् *weep* is in Skr. of the II<sup>nd</sup> cl., hence irregular base रोदि, 3. sg. pres. रोदिति, but in Pr. of the VI<sup>th</sup> or I<sup>st</sup> cl., by substituting their suff. अ for the irreg. इ of the II<sup>nd</sup> cl., hence base रुद or रोद, 3. sg. pres. रुञ्चइ or रुवइ (H. C. 4, 226. Spt. 311 or contr. रोइ H. C. 4, 368) or रोञ्चइ or रोवइ (H. C. 4, 226); or again R. या *go* is in Skr. of the II<sup>nd</sup> cl., hence base या, 3. sg. pres. याति, but in Pr. of the VI<sup>th</sup> cl., by interpolating its suff. अ, hence base जाञ्च, 3. sg. pres. जाञ्चइ (H. C. 4, 240 or contr. जाइ H. C. 4, 240. 350). Moreover, there was already in Pr. a tendency to run its two (remaining) classes, the VI<sup>th</sup> and X<sup>th</sup>, into *one*, either by transferring the roots of the VI<sup>th</sup> into the X<sup>th</sup>; or *far more commonly* by reducing the roots (whether primitive or denom. or caus.) of the X<sup>th</sup> into the VI<sup>th</sup>, through changing the X<sup>th</sup> class-suff. ए into the VI<sup>th</sup> class-suff. अ (see H. C. 3, 158. 149. Wb. Spt. 60. Ls. 341. 342. 344). Thus 1) change of the VI<sup>th</sup> cl. into the X<sup>th</sup>; e. g., हसेइ (H. C. 3, 158), for हसइ (H. C. 3, 158. Skr. हसति) *he laughs*; क॑रेइ (H. C. 4, 337), for क॑रइ (Vr. 8, 13) *he does*; न॒चेइ (Dl. 50), for न॒चइ (Vr. 8, 47) *he dances*, etc.; 2) change of the X<sup>th</sup> cl. into the VI<sup>th</sup>; e. g., क॒हइ (H. C. 4, 2), for क॒हेइ (Spt. 35. cf. H. C. 4, 267), Skr. कथयति, from R. कथ् *speak*; or चिंतइ (H. C. 4, 422), for चिंतिइ (Spt. 156. cf. H. C. 4, 265) *he thinks*; or स॒हइ (Spt. 260), for सा॒हेइ (Spt. 188), Skr. साधयति, from R. साध् *accomplish*; again in causals: द॒रि॒सइ

(H. C. 3, 149), for दृश्येद्, Skr. दृश्यति, from R. दृष् see; or क्रावद् (H. C. 3, 149), for क्रावेद् (H. C. 3, 149), Skr. कारयति, from R. कृ do; or हसावद् (H. C. 3, 149), for हसावेद् (H. C. 3, 149), from R. हस् laugh; or भमावद् (H. C. 3, 151), for भमावेद् (H. C. 3, 151) *he causes to roam*, from R. भम्, etc. In E. H. (and Gd. generally) this process reaches its natural conclusion by all roots whatsoever (whether primitive or derivative) having been transferred to a single class, which practically corresponds to the VI<sup>th</sup> of Skr. While, therefore, in Skr. roots belong to ten, and in Pr. (in the main) to two classes, they all belong in E. H. to one and the same. Thus (see the above examples) E. H. चुनै = Pr. चुणाद्; E. H. पावै = Pr. पावद्; E. H. भजै = Pr. भजद्; E. H. पीसै = Pr. पीसद् or पिसद्; E. H. करै = Pr. करद्; E. H. जानै = Pr. ज्ञापाद्; E. H. गहै = Pr. गेहद्; E. H. नाचै = Pr. नचद्; E. H. रोरे = Pr. रोचद्; E. H. ज्ञाय् (W. H. ज्ञायै) = Pr. ज्ञाद् (or ज्ञाचद्); E. H. हसै = Pr. हसद्; E. H. कहै = Pr. कहद्; E. H. चिंतै = Pr. चिंतद्; E. H. क्रावै = Pr. क्रावद्; E. H. हसावै = Pr. हसावद्, etc. Some E. H. roots ending with an anomalous long vowel, as पी *drink*, चू *drip*, are probably to be explained on the principle of the interpolation of the VI<sup>th</sup> class-suff. अ; just as in the case of the above mentioned R. जा go. Thus E. H. पीयै *he drinks* presupposes a Pr. form \*पिअचद् or \*पिअयद्, instead of the common Pr. पिअद् (H. C. 4, 10) or पियद् (H. C. 1, 180), Skr. पिवति, which would be in E. H. either \*पीद् or \*पियै; similarly E. H. चूरे *it drips* = Pr. \*चुअचद्, for the ordinary Pr. चुअद् (H. C. 2, 77).

*Note:* Some Skr. roots are conjugated in several classes, one of which is the usual one, while the others are either rarely used or confined to the Vedas. It will be found, that some Gd. roots which have apparently changed their Skr. class, have really preserved such an unusual or vedic class. Thus R. तप् *be hot* is in Skr. both of the I<sup>st</sup> cl., तप्, and also, but rarely, of the IV<sup>th</sup> cl., तप्य. The latter is the modern E. H. तप् (Pr. तप्य). The former would have become in E. H. तव or तो, through Pr. तव (cf. तवद् H. C. 1, 231). Again R. मृ *die* is in Skr. of the VI<sup>th</sup> cl., म्रिय,

but in the Vedas of the 1<sup>st</sup> cl., मर्. The latter is preserved in the E. H. मर्, Pr. मर् (Vr. 8, 12 मर्इ, E. H. मर्). It is possible that other modern Gd. roots, which have apparently changed their class, have really preserved an ancient traditional one of colloquial use, even though in many instances no evidence of it has survived either in Skr. or Pr. literature.

348. An exactly analogous process is the *change of „voice“*. In the case of some simple roots, their passive radical forms, made in Skr. with the suff. य्, are used in Pr. in an active sense and substituted in their place (cf. Wb. Spt. 64. S. Gdt. in J. G. O. S. XXIX, 492). By this process, practically, such roots are transferred in Pr. from their proper Skr. class into the VI<sup>th</sup> (or X<sup>th</sup>), and in E. H. into the VI<sup>th</sup>. Thus R. भत् break is in Skr. of the VII<sup>th</sup> cl., hence base भन्त्, 3. sg. pres. भन्क्कि; its pass. root or base is भय्, hence 3. sg. pres. भय्यते *he is broken*. Now Pr. treats this form, as if it were an active one of a R. भत् of the IV<sup>th</sup> cl., and, by incorporating the (really passive, but practically IV<sup>th</sup> cl.) suff. य्, makes the root to be of the VI<sup>th</sup>; hence base भत्त, 3. sg. pres. भत्तइ *he breaks* (cf. Spt. 168 भत्तंतस्स, Dl. 42 बिभत्त). Again R. रुध् hinder is in Skr. of the VII<sup>th</sup> cl., hence base रुपाध्, 3. sg. pres. रुपाडि; but in Pr. it is of the VI<sup>th</sup> cl., by incorporating न and eliding its ञ; hence base रुध्, 3. sg. pres. रुधइ (Vr. 8, 49). The Skr. pass. base is रुध्य, hence 3. sg. pres. रुध्यते *he is hindered*; in Pr. this becomes रुत्तइ (or रुत्तभइ) and is used both in its proper pass. sense (*he is hindered* H. C. 4, 245. 248) as well as in the act. sense (*he hinders* H. C. 4, 218); that is, Pr. transfers the R. रुध् into the VI<sup>th</sup> cl., by incorporating the pass. suff. य् and employing it in an act. sense. Examples of this kind are not uncommon. Thus R. शक् can forms Pr. सक्कइ, for Skr. शक्नोति (Vr. 8, 52. H. C. 4, 230). Now clearly सक्कइ is the equivalent of the Skr. pass. शक्यते, used actively. The real equivalent for the Skr. (V<sup>th</sup> cl.) शक्नोति is the alternative Pr. form सक्कणोइ (cf. Dl. 36 सक्कणोमि). Again R. लग् belong forms Pr. लगगइ (Vr. 8, 52), which cannot be = Skr. (1<sup>st</sup> cl.) लगति, but = Skr.

pass. लग्यते; again R. स्फुट् *burst* forms Pr. फुट् or फुड् (Vr. 8, 53). Of these, evidently, the former = Skr. pass. स्फुट्यते, the latter = Skr. act. (VI<sup>th</sup> cl.) स्फुटति. \*Again R. सिच् *sprinkle* forms both सिचि (H. C. 4, 230) = Skr. pass. सिच्यते, and सिचि (H. C. 4, 239) = Skr. act. (VI<sup>th</sup> cl.) सिचति. Again R. हन् *kill* forms either हम्पि = Skr. pass. हन्यते and used both as an act. (Vr. 8, 45) and as a pass. (H. C. 4, 244), or हपाङ् (DI. 72) = Skr. act. हन्ति. Again the R. विक्री *sell* (i. e. वि-क्री) forms both विक्रेड् and विक्रिपाङ्, of which the latter = Skr. act. विक्रीणीते; but that the former = Skr. pass. विक्रीयते is shown by the E. H. बिक्रै *it is sold* which is still used exclusively in a pass. or intrans. sense. This Pr. form विक्रेड्, by showing that the termin. एड् may represent the Skr. pass. termin. इयते, throws light on some strange Pr. forms, which thus are shown to be passives, used actively. Thus Pr. धेड् *he places*, of the R. धा, is the same as Skr. pass. धीयते; for from the usual Skr. act. (III<sup>d</sup> cl.) दधाति it cannot be phonetically derived. Thus also देड् (Cw. 99) *he gives*, of R. दा, is probably the Skr. pass. दीयते; and Pr. चेड् *he gathers* (T. V. 2, 4, 72), of R. चि, is the Skr. pass. चीयते rather than an assumed new I<sup>st</sup> cl. चयडि (as Wb. Spt. 60); and Pr. ठेड् or येड् (Ls. 345) *he stands*, of R. स्था, is the Skr. pass. स्थीयते rather than an assumed new I<sup>st</sup> cl. स्थायति, of R. स्तै (? as Ls. 135); and Pr. उड्डेड् *he flies* (Cw. 99), of R. उद्-डी, is the Skr. IV<sup>th</sup> cl. उड्डीयते (in reality a pass. form) rather than the Skr. I<sup>st</sup> cl. उड्डयते. All these last mentioned forms in एड्, as regards their termination, resemble the Pr. X<sup>th</sup> cl., which likewise ends in एड्, as Pr. कहेड् = Skr. कचयति; and thus they come to be treated as if they were really X<sup>th</sup> cl. formations, and may all be optionally transferred into the VI<sup>th</sup> cl. Just as कहेड् may change to कहड्, so देड् to दड् (Spt. 216), ठेड् to ठड् (H. C. 4, 17), and, no doubt, the others similarly, though in their case the Pr. evidence is wanting. But the fact is proved by the E. H., which here again makes the change absolute and transfers all pass.-act. roots to the VI<sup>th</sup> cl. Thus E. H. बिक्रै = Pr. विक्रिड् or विक्रेड्; E. H. ओहै (in पहिरै *he put son*, see § 133) = Pr.

०धइ or ०धेइ; E. H. संचे = Pr. संचइ or संचेइ; E. H. उडे = Pr. उडइ or उडेइ; the only exception is E. H. दे (or देय) for Pr. देइ. Again E. H. सकै = Pr. सकइ; E. H. लगै = Pr. लगइ; E. H. फुटै = Pr. फुटइ; E. H. चारै or W. H. चालै = Pr. चलइ; E. H. सोचै = Pr. सिचइ.

*Note:* The cause, no doubt, of this confusion in Pr. of the pass. and act. was the great likeness between the form of the (active) IV<sup>th</sup> cl. and that of the passive. Even in Skr. they can only be distinguished by the accent, which in the IV<sup>th</sup> cl. is thrown on the radical, but in the pass. on the suffixal vowel; thus act. नह्यते *nāhyate* he binds, but pass. नह्यते *nahyāte* he is bound. In Pr., where the accent is disused, the identity becomes complete. In this way some passives became associated in the popular mind with the IV<sup>th</sup> cl. and came to be used as actives. Most, if not all, the facts might be explained, by supposing a transfer in Pr. of certain roots into the VI<sup>th</sup> cl., but such a change of class is otherwise quite unsupported; and the explanation by means of a change of voice seems much simpler.

c 349. *Addition of the pleonastic suffix* चापि. In Skr. the causal roots are occasionally\* formed by adding the suff. चापि (Pr. चावि, E. H. चाव) instead of the ordinary causal suff. इ; e. g., caus. R. अध्यापि (3. sg. अध्यापयति *he teaches*), of R. अधी (i. e., अधि-इ) *read*; see other examples in M. M. 217. 218. In Pr. any C. R. may be formed at pleasure with either of these suff. (Vr. 7, 26. 27. H. C. 3, 149. Wb. Spt. 64. 65. Wb. Bh. 436); e. g., Pr. कारेइ or कारवेइ *he causes to do* = Skr. कारयति or \*कारापयति. In E. H. the C. R. is *always* formed with चापि; the original C. Rs. formed with इ, so far as they have survived, having become primitive transitive roots (see §§ 471—473). Thus E. H. मारवै *he causes to do*, not \*मारै, which does not exist; again E. H. मारवै *he causes to die* (i. e., causing death indirectly), but मारै *he beats* or *he kills*. Now it has been shown in § 347, that, in Pr., roots of the VI<sup>th</sup> cl. are occasionally transferred into the X<sup>th</sup> cl. (H. C. 3, 158), i. e., practically are formed like causal roots with इ;

and hence they also occasionally assume the (caus.) suff. ञापि, which in their case, of course, is practically pleonastic (cf. H. C. 3, 158 सुपाउ perhaps contr. for सुपावउ or सुपावेउ); e. g., Pr. has the pleon. R. सुहावि = Skr. सुख् or \*सुखापि (3. sg. सुहावेइ Spt. 169), E. H. सुहाव्. In E. H. these pleon. roots are still more common; e. g., चुराव् *steal*, Pr. \*चुरावि, Skr. चुर; E. H. गरियाव् *abuse*, Pr. \*गलिहावि, Skr. गल्ह्, etc. See the List of Roots. There can be little doubt, however, that such Gd. pleon. Rs. as well as their Skr. originals are in reality *denominative* roots (see § 352).

## 2. SECONDARY ROOTS.

350. Secondary roots may be divided into three classes, according to their origin. I shall distinguish them as 1) *derivative*, 2) *denominative*, and 3) *compound*.

351. *Derivative Roots.* In E. H. there sometimes exist pairs of roots, of which one member is intrans. and corresponds to the Skr. simple or (sometimes) passive root, and the other is trans. and represents the corresponding Skr. causal root. In these cases the intrans. has a short and the trans. a long vowel. Thus E. H. सारू *issue* intrans. = Skr. ऋ. R. सृ, and E. H. सारू *accomplish* (lit. *cause to issue*) trans. = Skr. C. R. सारि; or E. H. मरू *die* intr. = Skr. S. R. मृ, and E. H. मारू *kill* trans. = Skr. C. R. मारि; E. H. ब्रुइ *sink* intr. = Skr. S. R. वृइ and E. H. बोइ *immerse* trans. = Skr. C. R. बोडि, etc. In a similar manner, by shortening the radical vowel, E. H. sometimes derives new intrans. from trans. roots, when, on phonetic grounds, only the latter can be shown to have an equivalent in Skr. or Pr.; vice versa, in a few cases, by lengthening the radical vowel, E. H. derives trans. from intrans. roots, when only the latter exist in Skr. or Pr. The latter process is resorted to only very exceptionally, because E. H. has its own special means of forming causal (or trans.) roots with the suff. ञाव (see §§ 349. 474). Thus E. H. possesses a number of new pairs of roots, of which one member is original, while the other is derivative. Thus E. H. निबाइ *accomplish*

is trans. and equivalent to the Skr. C. R. निर्वाह्, of the trans. S. R. निर्वह्; from निब्राह् E. H. derives an intrans. R. निब्रह् *be accomplished*, which cannot, phonetically, be derived from the Skr. pass. R. निर्वह् or निर्वाह्; for these forms would become in Pr. निव्रह्, and thence E. H. \*निब्रक्. Again E. H. नहा *bathe* is equivalent to the Skr. S. R. स्ना (Pr. पहा). From it E. H. derives the intrans. R. नह् *flow*, for which Skr. offers no equivalent. It is, as if नहा were a trans. C. R., and नह् is to it, as कर् do is to कर् (or कर्त्) *cause to do*. On the other hand, E. H. संह् or सट् *combine* is intrans. and equivalent to the Skr. intrans. S. R. संस्था (Pr. संठा or संठ). From it E. H. derives a trans. (or caus.) R. सॉह् or सोट्, which cannot be derived, phonetically, from the Skr. C. R. संस्थापि, Pr. संठाव, etc.

352. *Denominative Roots.* Nouns which are used as roots for the purpose of forming new verbs, are called denominative roots. The practice of thus using nouns is very ancient. Even among the recognised Skr. simple roots, there are many which are really denominative. Pr. and Gd. have considerably added to their number. Theoretically the power of using nouns as roots is unlimited, and a great variety of nouns are actually thus employed upon occasion in Skr., Pr. and Gd.; see examples in M. M. 227—230. Wb. Spt. 60. 65. Wb. Bh. 429. 437. I speak here, however, only of such nouns, as are formally recognised and treated as roots and enumerated as such in *dhātupāthas* (or lists of roots). Such radical nouns or denominative roots 1) always end in ञ; 2) may be either common nouns or participles (see also Wb. Bh. 429); and 3) belong, as regards Skr., generally to the X<sup>th</sup> class, but occasionally also to the I<sup>st</sup>. In Pr., with its tendency to obliterate class-differences (see § 347), they are all made optionally to belong to the VI<sup>th</sup> cl., to which they belong without exception in E. H. Thus, e. g., the following roots are derived from common nouns in Skr.: R. मार्त् *scour*, from मार्त् *scouring*, a krit-derivative of the S. R. मृत् *scour*; or R. मार्ग *seek*, from मार्ग *seeking*, a krit-deriv. of the S. R. मृग *seek*; both

preserved in E. H. as मॉन् and मॉग्. Again Skr. roots derived from participles are amongst others: R. वेष्ट् *surround*, from वेष्ट *enclosure*, perhaps a past part. pass. of S. R. विष् or विष् with suff. त; or R. कष्ट् *pull* from कष्ट *pulled*, a past part. pass. of S. R. कष् (or कृष्) *rub, pull* with suff. त; both preserved in E. H. as बेष्ट् and काष्ट् (cf. Cw. 99. Wb. Spt. 107). Examples from the E. H. and Pr. are: 1) roots derived from common nouns: R. जन्म् *germinate*, from Skr. जन्म् *birth*, a krit-deriv. of the S. R. जन् *be born*; thus 3. sg. pres. Skr. \*जन्मयति, Pr. जन्मेइ or जन्मइ (H. C. 4, 136), E. H. जन्मै; again R. धार or ढार or ढाल् *pour*, from Skr. धार *flowing*, probably connected with the S. R. धाव् *run*; Skr. \*धारयति, Pr. धाडेइ or धाडइ (T. V. 3, 1. 14, where it is said to be a substitute of Skr. निःसरति), E. H. धारै or ढारै *he pours*. Again 2) roots derived from participles: R. पलट् or पलट् turn over, from Skr. पर्यस्त *turned over*, the past part. pass. of the Skr. Cp. R. परि-अस् *turn over* with suff. त; Skr. \*पर्यस्तयति, Pr. पलट्टइ or पलट्टइ (H. C. 4, 26. 200), E. H. पलटै or पलटै *he turns over*; again R. पीट् *beat*, from Skr. पीट *beaten*, the past part. pass. of the Skr. S. R. पीष् *beat* with suff. त; Skr. \*पीटयति or पीटयति (? , Spt. 173. Comm.), Pr. पीट्टइ (Spt. 173 for \*पीट्टइ) or पीट्टइ, E. H. पीटै *he beats*. Examples, from the E. H. or Pr., of denominative roots, formed with the pleonastic suff. of the X<sup>th</sup> cl. आपय (Pr. आवे, H. आव, see § 349), are the following. One root derived from a common noun is सुहाव् *be pleasant*, from Skr. सुख *pleasure* (said to be a compound of सु *good* and ख *a mine*, a krit-deriv. of the S. R. खन् *dig*), Skr. सुखयति or \*सुखापयति, Pr. सुहावेइ (Spt. 169) or सुहावइ, E. H. सुहावै *it is pleasant*. A root derived from a participle is चित्ताव् *make known*, from Skr. चित्त *known*, the past part. pass. of the Skr. S. R. चित् *know* and suff. त; Skr. \*चित्तापयति, Pr. \*चित्तावेइ or \*चित्तावइ, E. H. चित्तावै *he makes known*.

353. *Compound Roots.* The great diversity and intricacy of the old Skr. system of radical „classes“ must always have formed a formidable obstacle to its being adopted in the language of the common people. An evidence of this fact has been already



noted in § 347, in the decided tendency of Pr. and still more of Gd. to reduce the ten Skr. classes to one. But they made use, besides, of another remedy, viz., instead of inflecting the root itself, they took some very simple form of a noun derived from it and construed it with the inflected root कृ do. This is still a common practice in modern H., where numerous verbs are formed from (especially foreign) nouns by construing them with the verb कर्ब् to do; thus जमा कर्ब् to collect, बंद कर्ब् to shut, बौल् कर्ब् to boil, पास कर्ब् to pass an examination, मेल कर्ब् to mix, ध्यान् कर्ब् to meditate, बिचार कर्ब् to think (for बिचारब्, as in English to make answer for to answer), etc. Even in Skr., paraphrased roots of this kind are often found; thus न्यक् + कृ make low, degrade, चिर् कृ make long, delay, etc. (see more examples in M. W. Skr. Lex. under Art. कृ). In fact, any suitable noun might be thus turned into a verb. But it is not of these, that I speak here, but of a special and small class from among them, in which the construction of the noun with the R. कृ has become so firmly established by more or less obscure causes, as to produce, through constant usage, a coalescence of its two component parts (N. + R.) into one single simple form, and the recognition and treatment of this compound form as a simple root. Such roots I designate compound roots. Thus there is in Skr. a paraphrased verb स्फुत् + कृ or फुत् + कृ blow, whence फुत्करोति he blows; this appears in Pr. as फुक्केइ or फुक्कइ and in E. H. as फूक्के. In Skr. the two component parts, N. फुत् and R. कृ, are still separate and clearly recognisable, but they have already in Pr. and still more in E. H. coalesced into one form, Pr. फुक्क, E. H. फूक्क which is now recognised in E. H. as a simple root; in reality it is compound. This process of amalgamation must have been already at work in old times, for among the recognised simple roots of Skr. are found several, which are clearly compound; as बुक्क bark (cf. H. C. 4, 169) = बू or वदू + कृ; धक्क destroy = धक् + कृ or धवत् + कृ (acc. sg. neut. of N. दह् or धवस्); फक्क swell = स्फट् + कृ; चिक्क pain = चत् + कृ; टक्क bind = तन् + कृ, etc. There can hardly

be a doubt as to the compound character (as above explained) of such roots; though the exact phonetic process, by which it was produced, may be obscure. The following may be found a probable explanation. It has been shown in § 348, that in Pr. passive roots are often employed in an active sense; and that sometimes they are recognisable by the termination एङ्, which is occasionally reduced to ञङ्. It is probable, therefore, that the Pr. form कङ् or कङ् (as in लोक्केङ् or लोक्कङ् Spt. 173 = Skr. लुक्करोति) is a passive-active form, or identical with the Skr. pass. क्रियते, used actively. There are in E. H. a few forms which support this view. Thus it has the form ओढे which is both active (*he wears*) and passive or intrans. (*it is worn* or *it wears*); the corresponding Pr. forms would be उञ्जङ् or उञ्जङ्; and in Skr. we find the form उपध्रियते which is both pass. and act. (VI<sup>th</sup> class). In fact, in this particular case, the properly passive form उपध्रियते has already in Skr. assumed an active sense; for the usual active form of the R. धृ is धर्त्ति, of the I<sup>st</sup> class. Similarly the R. मृ *die* is said to be in classic Skr. an active belonging to the VI<sup>th</sup> class (म्रियते). It is, however, really passive with an active sense<sup>1</sup>); for, the proper active voice, which has been lost in the classic Skr., but preserved in the Vedic and also in Pr. and E. H., is (like that of R. धृ) of the I<sup>st</sup> cl. (मर्त्ति). It is precisely the same with the R. कृ *do*. Its Skr. pass. form क्रियते has come to be occasionally (i. e., in compound roots) used in Pr. as an active (of the VI<sup>th</sup> cl.). Its corresponding proper active form is (like that of the Rs. मृ and धृ) कर्त्ति, of the I<sup>st</sup> class, and, though lost in classic Skr., still preserved in the Vedic and in Pr. (कर्ङ्) and E. H. (करै). But although the Pr. कङ् or कङ् and the E. H. कै have generally assumed an active meaning, their original passive signification is still apparent enough in some cases. Thus E. H. बह्कै,

1) The change, in this case, was facilitated by the R. मृ being intrans. Besides, as both the VI<sup>th</sup> cl. and the pass. accentuate the suffixal vowel, there is absolutely no difference, externally, between the act. VI<sup>th</sup> cl. म्रियते *mriyāte* and the pass. म्रियते *mriyāte*.

from E. H. R. बह्क् *stray* (i. e., lit. *be turned out, sel., of the right path*) represents the Pr. बहिक्क्इ or बहिक्क्इ and Skr. बहिक्रियते; or E. H. उच्चै, of the E. H. root उच्क् *be raised, rise*, representing the Pr. उच्चक्क्इ or उच्चक्क्इ and Skr. (Vedic) उच्चक्रियते *he is carried on high*, etc.<sup>1)</sup> It has been stated already that in such compositions the R. कृ was usually constructed with some simple derivative noun. The simplest form of a noun, derived from the simple root, is the root itself; as Skr. R. रुध् *hinder*, N. रुध् *hindrance*. The next simplest is a noun, formed by one of the krit-suffixes त् or अ; as Skr. R. च्यु *cease*, N. च्युत् *ceasing*; or R. कष *pain*, N. कष *pain*. In constructing such a noun with the R. कृ, it is, if it has the form of the simple root or is formed with the krit-suff. त्, immediately joined with the R. कृ; as N. रुध् *hindrance*, acc. sg. neut. रुत्, whence Cp. R. रुत् + कृ = E. H. रोक् *hinder*; or N. च्युत् *ceasing*, acc. sg. neut. च्युत्, whence Cp. R. च्युत् + कृ = E. H. चुक् *cease*. Or if it is formed with the krit-suff. अ, it is joined with R. कृ by means of a connecting vowel, generally ई; e. g., N. कष *pain*, when Cp. R. कषीकृ = E. H. कसक् *pain*<sup>2)</sup>. It will be seen that in such compounds the initial क् *k* of the R. कृ or of its inflected form क्रियते is preceded either by a consonant or a long vowel; hence in Pr., according to its phonetic usages, the क् is always doubled, either by assimilating the consonant or shortening the vowel; thus Skr. रुत्-क्रियते = Pr. रुक्क्इ or रुक्क्इ *he hinders*;

1) In the Vedas the R. कृ is also of the II<sup>nd</sup> cl., thus 3. sg. pres. parasm. कर्ति, atm. कृते. The latter would be in Pr. क्क्इ and by transfer into the X<sup>th</sup> cl. (§ 347) क्क्इ. This may serve as an alternative explanation, if the pass-act. theory given in the text be not accepted.

2) This ई is, probably, the debris of an old case-ending. In Vedic Skr. occasionally आ is used, which is also without doubt an old case-ending, such as we see, e. g., in Skr. बलात्कृतः lit. *violently treated, forced* (बलात् abl. sg. of बल *violence*); thus Ved. उच्चक्रियते *he is carried up* = Pr. उच्चक्क्इ, E. H. उच्चै *he rises*. As these C. Rs. were probably formed in very old times, it was possibly the connecting vowel आ rather than ई, which was used in them. However, it makes no practical difference, whether it was आ or ई; for in E. H. both are equally reduced to अ.

Skr. च्युत्-क्रियते, Pr. चुक्कइ or चुक्कइ *he ceases*; Skr. कषीक्रियते = Pr. कसिक्कइ or कसिक्कइ *it pains*; indeed the doubling of क् is already insured by the following र् (in 'क्). In E. H., finally, according to its phonetic laws, the double क्क is reduced to single क् (§ 143). Thus Pr. रुक्कइ = E. H. रोकै (§ 148); Pr. चुक्कइ = E. H. चुकै (§ 146); Pr. कसिक्कइ = E. H. कसकै (§ 58). This explains the preservation in E. H. of the initial क् of the R. कृ, which, therefore, is an almost unerring indication of the presence of a compound root, in which it now forms the terminal sound; thus E. H. चुक् *cease*, रोक *hinder*, कसक् *pain*. Similarly E. H. चमक् *glitter*, 3. sg. pres. चमकै, Pr. \*चमक्कइ or \*चमक्कइ, Skr. \*चमक्रियते, comp. of N. चमत् (onomatop.) and R. कृ *do*, etc.

*Note:* Sometimes, though a C. R. does not exist in E. H., nominal derivatives of it do. Thus नक्क *degraded, vile*, from the unused C. R. नक्, Pr. नक्क, Skr. न्यक्क *degrade* = नि-ञ्च-कृ.

354. It remains briefly to notice a small number of E. H. roots, which probably belong to the one or the other of the above mentioned two principal classes, but which I am not able, satisfactorily to trace to a Skr. origin. They must have been subject to extreme phonetic deterioration. They may be divided into:

1) such as are, probably, primary roots; e. g., टस् *burst*, टूस् *vex*, टेस् *shout*, टेल् *remove*, टेव् *sharpen*, टो *handle*, टोप् *cram*, टो *carry*, तग् *stich*, तक् *be parched*, चिन् *be congealed*, तिहुइ or त्योइ or त्योइ *bend*, पत्र् *drip*, पसा *skim*, पहुइ or पौइ *repose*, पैना *sharpen*, पो or पोव् or पोह् *make bread or thread*, मूक् *shut*, मुर् *acquire a taste*, लक् *bend*, लट् *be laden*, लिउ or लौल् *swallow*, लेट् *recline*, लौट् *turn over, return*, सन् *be mixed, be soiled* and tr. सान् *mix, soil*, सोउ *review*, हट् *be perverse*, हिक् *loathe*, etc.

2) such as are, probably, secondary roots, and divisible into:  
a) *denominative*; as गोहराक् *call*, हलग् *be kindled*, etc.; — b) *compound*; as तौक् *scold*, टोक् *prevent, challenge*, भरक् *go astray*, etc.; — c) to these may be added a class of roots which end in ल् or इ

(or *र*) or *ट*; as *टहल्* or *टहर्* *walk to and fro* (cf. N. *टहल्* f. *service, drudgery*); *ठहल्* or *ठहर्* *stop, remain* (cf. *ठहर्* or *ठाव्* a *place*); *ढकेल्* or *धकेल्* or *धकील्* *shove* (cf. *ढक्का* or *धक्का* a *shove*); *बहल्* *pass agreeably, be amused* (cf. R. *बह्* *flow*); *भिसल्* *be dazzled* (cf. Pr. R. भिस् H. C. 4, 203 = Skr. भास्); *कगर्* *quarrel*; *लघर्* *be draggled or draggle*; *लतार्* or *लतेर्* (lit. *kick*) *insult, exhaust by labour* (cf. *लात्* or *लत्* a *kick* and *लतर्* an *old shoe*); *कपर्* *spring* or *कपेर्* *attack suddenly* (cf. *कप्* *quick*); *चपर्* *be flattened* or *चपेर्* *flatten* (cf. R. चाप् or चॉप् *press* and N. चाप् a *bow*); *रपर्* *slip* or *रपेर्* *chase* (cf. *रापी* or *राँपी* an *iron scraper* or *knife*); *लपर्* *adhere* or *लपेर्* *enclose, fold* (cf. N. लप् *palm of the hand hollowed so as to hold water*); *घसर्* or *घसिर्* or *घसीर्* *drag* (cf. R. घस् *rub*); *बुकीर्* *scratch* (cf. *बुकर्* or *बुक्का* *claw, a handful*). The forms with a penultimate long vowel are, as a rule, trans.; those with a short one, intrans. These roots, however, are not properly E. H. or E. Gd., but introduced from W. Gd. It will be shown (in § 476) that in W. Gd. there are causal roots in *आल्* or *अला* (W. H.), *आड* or *अवाड* (G.), *आर्* or *अरा* (S.); e. g., W. H. *बिठला* or *बिठाल्* *cause to sit*, G. *खवाङ्* *cause to eat* (Ed. 114), S. *डियार्* *cause to give*, *घारार्* *cause to wound* (Tr. 256. 257). It seems probable, that these W. Gd. causals and the above mentioned (W. Gd.) secondary roots have an identical origin. There is, moreover, a curious analogy in Pashtu (see Tr. in J. G. O. S. XXXIII, 7 ff.). It has a class of secondary roots in *ēd* (infinit. in *ēdal*), which are, as a rule, intrans.; e. g., *bahēd* *flow* (cf. E. H. *बहल्*), *matēd* *be broken* (cf. Skr. मृष्ट *rubbed*); *kēd* *be done*; but occasionally trans.; e. g., *āvrēd* *hear*, *blōsēd* *torment*, *puštēd* *ask* (cf. Skr. पृष्ट *asked*). Occasionally the primary root exists also, as *zang* or *zangēd* *swing*, *kr* *do* and *kēd* *be done*; just as in E. H. चॉप् and चपेर् *flatten*. And further, the causal roots may be made with *ēd* in Pashtu <sup>1</sup>).

1) Trumpp explains the Rs. in *ēd* as being compounds with *kēd* *be done*. This might suit the intrans., but not the trans. and caus. Rs. in *ēd*; moreover the R. *kēd* itself requires to be explained; for it is clearly a derivative of the R. *kr* *do*.

The origin of these roots is very obscure. Possibly they are denominative roots, derived from nouns which are themselves again derived from others by the secondary or pleonastic suff. घल्, इल्, ञ्त्, etc. (cf. §§ 209. 245) or वृत् (cf. § 285). Or perhaps they may be compound roots, formed from the Skr. R. वृत् (Pr. वृद्), of which the terminal ट् (or घट्, एट्, एत्) is the sole remnant, as क् (of R. कृ, Pr. क्क) is in the other compound roots. Thus Skr. घर्षे वृत्ते *he is occupied in rubbing, he drags* = \*घर्षवृत्तयति den. of \*घर्षवृत्त, Pr. \*घस्सवृट् = \*घस्सवृट् = \*घस्सयट् = E. H. घसेट् or घसीट्. At all events, in some cases, these roots have an alternative form, ending in क्; thus कपट् and कपक्; चपट् and चपक्; लपट् *cling* and लपक् *spring*; cf. also E. H. औचट् and औचक् *suddenly*.

355. There is also in E. H. a very small number of what may be called *tatsama* roots; viz., denom. roots formed from tats. nouns. Some are comparatively modern formations. Thus गरत् *thunder* (Skr. गर्ग); त्यागत् *abandon* (Skr. त्याग); धूपत् *perfume* (Skr. धूप); भोगत् *enjoy* (Skr. भोग); लोभत् *be enamoured* (Skr. लोभ), etc.

### THIRD SECTION. INFLEXION OF NOUNS.

#### FIRST CHAPTER. THE SUBSTANTIVE.

##### 1. FORMS OF THE SUBSTANTIVE.

356. Every subst. admits of three forms: the short, long and redundant. The short is the primary form, which is given in dictionaries, and by which it is generally known. It is, as a rule, the only one admissible in good or literary language. The other two forms are more or less vulgar. They are made by adding to the short form the pleon. suff. of the fourth and sixth sets of the first group, as explained in §§ 199. 200 (q. v.). E. g., masc. sh. f. मोत् *friend*, lg. f. मित्वा or °वाँ, red. f. मितोवा or °वाँ or मितौ; fem. sh. f. लाट् *bed*, lg. f. लटिया or °वाँ, red. f. लटियावा or °वाँ;

masc. sh. f. बेटा *son*, lg. f. बेटवा or °वाँ, red. f. बेटौवा or °वाँ or बेटौ; fem. sh. f. सीता *Sitá*, lg. f. सितिया or °याँ, red. f. सितियवा or °वाँ; in इ; masc. sh. f. मुनि *sage*, lg. f. मुनिया or °याँ; rel. f. मुनियवा or °वाँ; fem. sh. f. आँखि *eye*, lg. f. आँखिया or °याँ; red. f. आँखियवा or °वाँ; in ई; masc. sh. f. भाई *brother*, lg. f. भइया or भैया or °याँ; red. f. भइयवा or भैयवा or °वाँ; fem. sh. f. धूरी *axle*, lg. f. धुरिया or °याँ; red. f. धुरियवा or धुरीवा or °वाँ; in उ; masc. sh. f. तहू *tree*, lg. f. तहवा or °वाँ; red. f. तहसवा or तहूवा or °वाँ; fem. sh. f. पतोहु *daughter-in-law*, lg. f. पतोहुवा or °वाँ; red. f. पतोहुसवा or पतोहुवा or °वाँ; in ऊ; masc. sh. f. नाउ *barber*, lg. f. नउवा or नोवा or °वाँ; red. f. नउसवा or नौसवा or नउवा or °वाँ; fem. sh. f. बहू *daughter-in-law*, lg. f. बहूवा or °वाँ; red. f. बहूसवा or बहवा or °वाँ, etc.

*Note:* Sometimes the W. H. long and red. forms are used; as कन्हैया or कन्हई *krishna*, रामै or रामैया *Rám*.

357. Many subst. (especially among those in च) admit of two forms, a weak and a strong. Most of them, however, (especially those in इ and उ) exist in one of these forms only. The weak form is the original one; the other is made by adding to it the pleon. suff. of the first set of the first group, as explained in § 196 (q. v.). Thus 1) in च or चा; masc. भेड़ or भेड़ा *ram*, माथ् or माया *forehead*, बास् or बासा *dwelling*, बाल् or बाला *child*, etc.; fem. भेड़ी or भेड़ी *cwe*, लाट् or लाठी *staff*, मूठ् or मूठी *fist*, etc.; in इ or ई; masc. very rare, e. g., ज्ञान (ज्ञानि) or ज्ञानी *wise man*; fem. आति or आती *wick, light*, बहिनि or बहिनी *sister*, etc.; in उ or ऊ; masc. very rare, e. g., पोलु or पोलू *elephant*; fem. बहु or बहू *daughter-in-law*, पतोहु or पतोहू *daughter-in-law*. 2) Only in च; masc. सोनारू *goldsmith*, कहारू *porter*, देव *god*, बाघ् *tiger*, बैल् *ox*, घर *house*, नाम् *name*, फूल् *flower*, पेट् *stomach*, पेड़ *tree*, etc.; fem. बात् *word, event*, नाँक् *nose*, नींदू *sleep*, etc. 3) Only in चा; masc. लारिका or झोकरा *boy*, बनिया *merchant*, घोरा *horse*, काँठा *thorn*, कुत्ता *dog*, मोठा *footstool*, etc.; fem. only tats., as दुर्गा *Durgá*, सीता *Sitá*, or semitats., as कृपा *mercy*, etc. 4) Only in इ, rarely; masc. generally tats., as मुनि *a Muni*, or semitats., as रिखि *a Rishi*, etc.; fem. आगि *fire*, आँखि *eye*, etc. 5) Only in ई; masc. धोबी *washerman*,

माली *gardener*, तेली *oilman*, हाथी *elephant*, नाती *grandchild*, भाई *brother*, बहिनोई *brother-in-law*, कोढ़ी *leper*, पानी *water*, मोती *pearl*, घी *clarified butter*; fem. घोरी *mare*, बिल्ली *cat*, लरिंकी or झोकरि *girl*, माई *mother*, छेपी *hat*, मोरी *drain*, माखी *fly*, etc. 6) Only in उ; rarely, masc. तह *tree*, गुरु *teacher*, etc.; fem. *deest*. 7) Only in उ; masc. नाउ *barber*, पहरा *watchman*, हिन्दू *a Hindú*, आलू *potato*, पेटू or खाऊ *glutton*, etc.; fem. मेहरारू *woman*, जोरू *wife*, तलू *leech*, बालू *sand*, etc.

*Note:* On the meaning of these various forms, see § 201.

## 2. GENDER.

358. There are only two genders, the masculine and the feminine. No practically workable rules can be given to recognise the gender of a subst. by its termination; excepting, that short forms in आ (exc. तत्स., like दुर्गा) are always masc.; e. g., घोरा *horse*. हाँडा *pot*, गोला *ball*, जूता *shoe*, etc., and that such short forms in ई, as have a synonymous masc. in आ, are always fem.; e. g., घोरी *mare*, हाँडी *pot*, गोली *bullet*, जूती *shoe*, etc. As a rule E. H. subst. retain the gender which they had in Skr.; but Skr. neut. become masc. in E. H. This affords, on the whole, a safe guide for those who can use it. Where there is a natural gender, that of course, determines the grammatical gender also. For the rest, the gender must be learned by practice.

359. The difficulty of determining the gender of E. H. words by their termin., is easily explained. Compare §§ 42 to 53. The termin. ई and उ must be uncertain, because they are contractions of the Mg. Pr. termin. masc. इए or उए, fem. इआ or उआ; thus Pr. fem. घोडिआ *mare* = E. H. घोरी; but Mg. Pr. masc. तेलिए *oilman* is likewise = E. H. तेली; again Mg. Pr. fem. बालुआ *sand* = E. H. बालू, but Mg. masc. बिचुए *scorpion* is also = E. H. बिछू. — The E. H. termin. इ and उ must be uncertain, because they were so even in Pr. and Skr., where their nom. sg. in ई and उ (Pr.) or इ, उ (Skr.) may be of either gender. — On the other hand, since the Pr. termin. आ, whether masc. or



fem., always becomes *अ* in E. H. (e. g., Pr. masc. *राजा* or *राया king*, E. H. *राय* or *रै*; Pr. fem. *वक्ता word*, E. H. *वात्*), no E. H. short form in *अ* can be fem. (always excepting tats., which have not passed through Pr.); and since every final E. H. *अ* of a short form stands for a Mg. masc. *अए*, therefore all E. H. short forms in *अ* must be masc. Similarly, since every final E. H. *ई* of a short form, which corresponds to a synonymous masc. short form in *अ*, stands for a Pr. fem. *इया*, all such E. H. short forms in *ई* must be fem. — Finally the termin. *अ* of E. H. long and redundant forms must be uncertain, because it is a contraction of the Mg. Pr. gen. termin. masc. *आह*, fem. *आअ* (§§ 369, 2. 365, 1); e. g., E. H. *नतिया grandchild* = Mg. *नत्तिआह* (Skr. *नप्तृकः*, H. C. 1, 137); but E. H. *बुद्धिया old woman* is also = Mg. *बुद्धिआअ*. — The number of words, which are masc. or neut. in Skr., but fem. in E. H., is limited; and in the case of most of them the change had already taken place in Pr. Thus (see Vr. 4, 26. H. C. 1, 35. S. C. 1, 1. 53) Skr. n. *अक्षि eye*, Pr. n. *अच्छि* or f. *अच्छो* or \**अक्खो*, E. H. f. *अँखि*; Skr. m. *रश्मिः cord*, Pr. m. or f. *रस्सो*, E. H. f. *रस्सो*<sup>1)</sup>; Skr. m. *अञ्जलिः handful*, Pr. m. or f. *अंजलो*, E. H. f. (also m.) *अंजलि*; Skr. *अलिः offering*, Pr. m. or f. *वलो*, E. H. f. *बली*; Skr. m. *विधि (good) conduct*, Pr. m. or f. *विही*, E. H. f. *बिही*; Skr. n. *पृष्ठम् back*, Pr. n. *पिट्ठ* or f. *पिट्ठी*, E. H. f. *पौट्*; Skr. m. *कुक्षिः belly*, Pr. m. or f. *कुच्छी*, E. H. f. *कोट्* or *कोल्*; Skr. n. *चौर्यम्*, Pr. n. *चोरिअं* (Vr. 3, 20) or f. *चोरिआ* (Spt. 210), E. H. f. *चोरी*<sup>1)</sup>. Again Skr. m. *ग्रन्थिः knot*, Pr. m. or f. *गंथो* (H. C. 1, 35), E. H. f. *गँट्* (also m.); Skr. m. *बाहुः arm*, Pr. m. *बाहू* or f. *बाहा* (H. C. 1, 36. S. C. 1, 1. 54), E. H. f. *बाह्* or *बाँह्*; Skr. n. *अन्तर्म intestines*, Pr. f. *अंती* (in Ap. *अंत्रडी* H. C. 4, 445. T. V. 3, 4. 69), E. H. f. *अँत्*; Skr. n. *अस्थि or अस्थिकम् bone*, Pr. n. *अष्टिअं* (cf. Spt. 100) or f. *अट्ठी* (H. C. 2, 32), E. H. f. *अँठी*. To these may

1) The Pr. fem. *चोरिआ* is really a different word, i. e., = Skr. *चौरिका* (cf. Wb. Spt. 45); so also the E. H. fem. *रस्सो* is really derived from the masc. *रस्सा*; see §§ 257. 262.

be added, as examples of what seem to be purely E. H. changes, E. H. f. अग्नि *fire*, Skr. m. अग्निः, Pr. m. अग्नी (Vr. 5, 18. S. R. fol. 9<sup>b</sup>)<sup>1</sup>; E. H. f. देह *body* (but S. m. डेहु), Skr. m. देहः, Pr. m. देहो (Spt. A, 63); E. H. f. सोह् *oath*, Skr. m. शपथः or n. शपथम्, Pr. m. सवहो (Vr. 2, 15) or n. सवहं (Spt. 361); E. H. f. बिंदू or बिंदी or बूँद or बूँदी *drop*, Skr. m. बिन्दुः, Pr. m. बिंदू or n. बिंदुं (H. C. 1, 34. S. C. 1, 1. 52); E. H. बाई *wind*, Skr. m. वायुः, Pr. m. वाउ (Vr. 5, 18)<sup>1</sup>). The strong E. H. forms बिंदी (or बूँदी) and बाई seem to be diminutives (Pr. \*विंदिन्ना, \*वाइन्ना) and to presuppose Pr. fem. forms \*विन्दा, \*वाया; just as Pr. fem. वाहा and masc. वाह् arm. Curious anomalies are, E. H. वस्तु *thing* (S. regularly tadbh. वयु fem. Tr. 105) and धातु *metal* (also वस्तु and धातु), which are masc., but are sometimes used as fem., though they are tats., which always keep their original gender, in this case n. and m. respectively in Skr. Of words in which the gender has changed from fem. in Skr. to masc. in E. H., there is, I believe, only one; and the change took place in Pr.; viz., Skr. fem. प्रवृष *rainy season*, Pr. m. पाउसो (Vr. 4, 18. H. C. 1, 31. S. C. 1, 1. 50), E. H. m. पाउस् or पावस्<sup>2</sup>). As regards the change of Skr. neut. to E. H. masc., it had already taken place in Pr., in the case of all neut. ending in the cons. न् and स् (Vr. 4, 18. H. C. 32. Wb. Bh. 404. 420); thus Skr. n. कर्म (base कर्मन्) *work*, A. Mg. m. कम्मे (Bh. 163. 167) or Mh. कम्मो, E. H. m. कम्; Skr. n. यशः *renown*, A. Mg. m. जसे (Bh. 420) or Mh. जसो, E. H. m. जस्; Skr. n. उरस् *breast*, A. Mg. m. उरे, E. H. उर; Skr. n. पयस् *milk*, A. Mg. m. पये, E. H. m. पय or पै; Skr. n. चक्षुस् *eye*, Pr. m. चक्खू (H. C. 1, 33. S. C. 1, 1. 51, also n. चक्खुं), E. H. m. चक्, etc. Sometimes also the change took

\* 1) E. H. f. तौत् *string* is not = Skr. m. तन्तुः (as Bs. II, 174 after Tr. 59 says), but = Skr. f. तन्त्री. — The E. H. बाई *wind*, however, is more probably = Skr. f. वातिः.

2) The other word mentioned by the Pr. Gramm., m. सूरश्चो = Skr. f. शरद्, occurs in E. H. only as a fem. semitats. सरद्. — There is, however, also a Skr. m. प्रवृषः.

place in the case of neut. in ऋ (Skr. nom. sing. ऋम्; see H. C. 1, 33. S. C. 1, 1. 51), especially in Mg. (Wb. Bh. 416. Ls. 399. 408. 429) and in Ap. (H. C. 4, 445. Ls. 461. 476); thus Skr. n. कुलम् *family*, Pr. n. कुलं or m. कुलो, Ap. m. कुलु (H. C. 4, 361), E. H. m. कुल्; Skr. n. दुःखम्, A. Mg. n. दुःखं or m. दुःखे (Bh. 190. 191), E. H. m. दुख्; Skr. n. नयनम् *eye*, Pr. n. पात्रपां or m. पात्रपाो or पात्रपाो, E. H. m. नयन् or नैन्; Skr. n. वचनम् *word*, Pr. n. वचपां or m. वचपाो or वयपाो, Ap. वयपा (H. C. 4, 387), E. H. वयन् or बैन्; Skr. n. लोचनम् *eye*, Pr. n. लोचपां or m. लोचपाो or लोयपाो, E. H. m. लोयन्; Skr. n. हृदयम् *heart*, Pr. n. हिद्यन्नं (Vr. 1, 28) or Mg. m. हियर् (Bh. 394, also हड्के) or Mh. हिद्यन्नो (Urv. 23, 10 in Pl. Diss. 5), E. H. m. हिया; Skr. n. धनम् *wealth*, Mg. m. धपो (Vr. 11, 11) or Ap. धणु (H. C. 4, 358), E. H. m. धन्; Skr. n. शिरस् *head*, Mh. n. शिरं (H. C. 1, 32), but Ap. m. सिर (H. C. 4, 445), E. H. m. सिर. In Gd. (exc. M., G. and exceptionally W. H.) the Pr. tendency to change neut. into masc. is extended to all neut.; thus Skr. n. दाम (base दामन्) *string*, Pr. n. दामं (H. C. 1, 32), but E. H. m. दाम् (sometimes even fem.); Skr. n. गृहम् *house*, Pr. n. घर, M. n. घर, but E. H. m. घर; Skr. n. घृतम् *clarified butter*, Pr. n. घिन्नं, M. n. घो, but E. H. m. घो; Skr. n. दधिकम् *sour milk*, Pr. n. दहिन्न, M. n. दही, but E. H. m. दही; Skr. n. पानीयम् *water*, Pr. n. पाणिन्नं (Vr. 1, 18), M. n. पानी, but E. H. m. पानी; Skr. n. मौक्तिकम् *pearl*, Pr. n. मोत्तिन्नं (Spt. 314), M. n. मोती, but E. H. m. मोती; Skr. n. मस्तिकम् *head*, Pr. n. मत्तिन्नं, M. n. माती, but E. H. m. माथी; Skr. n. सुवर्णकम् *gold*, Pr. n. सोल्लन्नं or सोल्लयं (cf. Spt. 194), O. H. सोनयं, M. n. सोने, but E. H. m. सोना; Skr. n. श्रमुकम् *tear*, Pr. n. शंसुन्नं, M. n. शंसू, but E. H. m. शंसू (O. H. शंसुन्न in Chand Devagiri 22); Skr. n. युगम् *yoke*, Pr. n. युन्नं, M. n. यू, but E. H. m. यू or strong form युन्ना; Skr. (st. f.) n. कर्त्तव्यकम् *doing*, Pr. n. करिन्नन्नं, Ap. n. करेन्नउं (H. C. 4, 438) or करिन्नउं, W. H. n. करिन्नौ or m. करिन्नो, O. m. करिन्ना, E. H. (wk. f.) m. करिन् or करब्.

360. *Affinities.* As regards the gender of nouns, E. H. occupies an intermediate position. The M. and G. have preserved the three genders of the Skr. and Pr. Again B. and O. distinguish

no gender at all. But E. H. has at least two genders, masc. and fem. Generally speaking it agrees in that respect with W. H., P., S. and N.; though traces of the old neut. survive in W. H. in the infinitives in *अनौ* and *इअौ* or *अअौ*, as indicated by the final *anunásika*. — All the above mentioned E. H. instances of change of gender are common to W. H. and, as a rule, to the other Gds. also.

### 3. NUMBER.

361. There are only two numbers, the singular and the plural. The plur. of nouns, which signify *rational beings*, is formed 1) generally by adding the noun *लोग्* *people*, without any change in the sing. noun; or 2) less commonly by using the same form of the noun as in the sing. Thus *disciples* may be either *चेलालोग्* or less frequently *चेला*, from sing. *चेला*; or *daughters* *बेटीलोग्* or *बेटी*, from sg. *बेटी*. The plur. of any other being or thing can, generally, be formed only in the second way. Thus *horses* is *घोरा* but not *घोरालोल*; *words* is *वात्*, not *वातलोग्*, from the sing. *घोरा* and *वात्*. In such cases, if the noun be in the nom. case, the context must decide its number. The plural, formed with *लोग्*, I shall call the *compound*, the other the *simple*.

*Exception.* A few nouns optionally form anomalous plurals, as *मन्* *man*, pl. *मने*; *मनुख्* *man*, pl. *मनइ*.

362. The termination of the subst. suffers no change in the sing. nor in the nom. and acc. *proper* of the plur.; but in the oblique cases of the plur. the suff. *अन्*, *इन्*, *उन्* are added to subst. in *अ* or *आ*, *इ* or *ई*, *उ* or *ऊ* respectively. In the case of the comp. plur. they may be added either to the noun itself or, as is more common, to the plur. sign *लोग्*. The form thus made, I shall call the *oblique plural*; that of the obl. cases of the sing. and of the nom. and acc. *proper* of the (simple) plur., the *oblique sing.*; and that of the nom. sing., the *direct* form. See examples in § 379.

*Exception.* Subst. in *ई*, signifying *inanimate* objects, do

not make the oblique plur. (with इन्) in the short, but only in the long and red. forms; see examples in § 379.

363. *Affinities.* 1) In E. H. the nom. and acc. *proper* of the simple plur. of all subst. are identical with the obl. form of the sing.; the reason of which will be explained in § 369. The same, in principle, is the case in all Gds., except in O. and, partially, M. In the latter the fem. and neut. subst. have a special dir. form of the plur., whilst in O. there is no simple plur. at all (exc. in the plur. sign माने, see below Nro. 2. 3). But the B. and N. are peculiar in adding to the obl. sg. a special case-affix to denote its nom.-plur.-application; viz., B. र, N. ह; and N. has the further peculiarity of using an archaic obl. sg. in हे or ह (see §§ 364, 3. 365, 6). Thus E. H. ob. sg. चेला, nom. pl. चेला *disciples*, W. H. obl. sg. चेले, nom. pl. चेले; B. obl. sg. चेला, nom. pl. चेला-र, N. old obl. sg. चेलाहे or चेलाह, nom. pl. चेलाहे-ह or चेलाह-ह, etc.; for other examples see §§ 364, 3. 369, 1. — 2) The E. H. has both a simple and a comp. plur., the former for all subst., the latter (as a rule) for those only which denote *rational beings*. Formerly the O. also had, for subst. denoting rational beings, a simple plur. which, in the case of ऋ-bases, ended in र् (see Bs. II, 198; e. g., कुमारे pl. of कुमार *boy*); but now the comp. plur. (made with माने) only is used. For all other subst. the O. has no plur. at all (see Sn. 14). None of the other Gds. possess a comp. plur.; B. using the simple plur. for rational beings only (S. Ch. 44. 53); the rest of the Gds., for all subst. alike. The comp. plur. is made, in O. with माने, obl. f. मानन्, in E. H. with लोम्, obl. f. लोमन्. Thus nom. pl. E. H. चेला or चेला-लोम् *disciples*, O. चेला-मामे; dat. pl. E. H. चेलन्-के or चेला-लोमन्-के, O. चेला-मानन्-कु. It should be observed, however, that, for the purpose of emphasizing the plur. meaning, a periphrastic plur. may be formed in all Gds. for any subst. whatsoever, by appending to the sing. some suitable collective noun, such as गण् *troop*, वर्ग *class*, सक्त् or सञ् *all*, etc. — 3) All Gds. have an obl. f. of the simple plur. (see

table, below), exc. the N., B. and, apparently, G. which use the form of the nom. pl. in the obl. cases also. Thus E. H. nom. pl. चेला, obl. चेलन्; H. H. चैले, obl. चेलो, etc.; but G. nom. and obl. चेलाम् or (variously spelled) चेलाउ or चेलाओ. However, in G. the final *anunásika* (Pr. *anusvára*), which usually distinguishes the obl. plur. (see § 368, 6), may have been dropped. Where there is no simple plur., as in O., there can be, of course, no obl. plur. But the O. and E. H. comp. plur. signs माने and लोग् (see Nro. 2) form a regular obl. pl. मानन् and लोगन्. As to the N. and B., see § 364, 2. 3. — 4) As regards the sing., the general tendency of the Gds. is to assimilate the obl. to the dir. form. In the E. Gd. the assimilation is complete, no subst. (of whatever termin.) having its obl. differing from its dir. form. In W. Gd. (exc. S.) and N. Gd., it is almost complete, the only exceptions being strong nouns in छा. In S. the obl. form of masc. nouns in उ and ओ, and of com. gen. nouns in ई and उ is different from the direct. In S. Gd. the two forms differ in most nouns of whatever termination. It must, however, in all cases be understood, that the obl. f., though now it may outwardly be the same as the dir., is not really identical with it, but has a different origin, as will be shown in § 365. Thus nom. sg. A. Mg. सामिर् or सामिश्च = dir. f. M. and E. H. सामी, or nom. sg. Mh. सामिओ, Ap. सामिउ = dir. f. S. सामी *lord*; and gen. sg. A. Mg. सामिआह = obl. f. M. साम्या, E. H. (lg. f.) समिया; or gen. sg. Ap. सामिओहो or °हु = obl. f. O. H. सामिओह, S. सामिश्च, W. H. and E. H. सामी. Again nom. sg. A. Mg. घोउर् or घोउश्च = dir. f. M. and E. H. घोडा, or nom. sg. Mh. घोउओ, Ap. घोउउ = dir. f. S. घोडे; and gen. sg. A. Mg. घोउआह = obl. f. M. घाउया (for \*घोउया), E. H. (lg. f.) घोउवा; or gen. sg. Ap. घोउओहो or घोउओहे = obl. f. O. H. घोउओह or O. P. घोउओहि, G., W. H., E. H. घोडा, P., H. H. घोडे. — 5) The subjoined tables give a comparative view of the various terminations of the Gd. dir. and obl. forms. Observe, that where a form is not ascribed to any particular Gd., it belongs to all; and where no gender is mentioned, it is common.

*Direct forms singular*

of weak bases	in अ	अ; exc. S., O. H., O. P. उ m., अ f.
	in इ	इ; exc. M., H. H. इ m. n., इ or अ f.
	in उ	उ.
of strong bases	in आ	E. Gd., H. H., P. आ m., Br. आ or ओ m., Mw., S., N. ओ m., G. ओ m., उँ n., M. आ or उ m., ऐँ or ऊँ n., O. H. ओ or अय m. अयं n.
	in ई	ई; exc. M. ई m. f., ईँ n., O. H. ई m., इय f.
	in उ	उ; exc. M. उ m. f., उँ n., G. उ c. g.

*Direct forms plural in M.*

of weak bases	in अ	आ f., ऐँ n.	of strong bases	in आ	ईँ or ऐँ n.
	in इ	ई f.		in ई	या f., येँ n.
	in उ	deest		in उ	वा f., वेँ n.

*Oblique forms singular*

of weak bases	in अ	अ; exc. B. अ or ए, M. आ m. n., ए f., O. H. अ or अह or अहि, O. P. अ or अहि.
	in इ	इ; exc. M. ई, O. H. इ or इह or इहि, O. P. इ or इहि.
	in उ	उ; exc. M. उ, O. H. उ or उह or उहि.
of strong bases	in आ	B., O., E. H., Mw. आ m., Br. आ or ए m., H. H., P., S. ए m., M. या or आ m. n., G. आ m., आँ n., O. H. अग्रह or अग्रहि m. n.
	in ई	ई; exc. S. इअ, M. या m. n., ये f. or ई c. g., O. H. इग्रह or इग्रहि.
	in उ	उ; exc. S. उअ, M. वा m. n., वे f. or उ c. g., O. H. उग्रह or उग्रहि.

*Oblique forms plural*

of weak bases	in अ	E. H. अन्, H. H. ओँ, Br. ओँ or अन् or अनि, Mw., M. ओँ, P. ओँ m., ईओँ f., G. ओ, S. ओँ or ऐँ or अनि c. g., उनि f., O. H. आन् or अन् or अन्ह or अन्हि.
	in इ	E. H. इन्, H. H. इयोँ, Br. इयोँ or इन् or इनि, Mw. यौँ, P. इओँ, G. इओ, M. ईँ, S. इओँ or इऐँ or इनि or इअनि or इउनि, O. H. इन् or इन्ह or इन्हि.
	in उ	E. H. उन्, H. H. उओँ, Br. उन or उनि, Mw., P. उओँ, G. उओ, S. उनि, M. ऊँ, O. H. उन् or उन्ह or उन्हि.
		N. B., in B., O., N. <i>deest</i> throughout.

of strong bases	in अ	P. इअँ m., S. अँ or ऐँ or अनि m., G. आबू (or आओ) m., अँ n., M. यँ or अँ m. n.	the rest as in the weak bases.
	in ई	Br. इयौँ or इयन् or इयनि or इन or इनि, P. ईअँ, G. ईओ, M. यँ or ईँ.	
	in उ	Br. उअौँ or उअन् or उअनि or उन् or उनि, P. उअँ, S. उअँ or उऐँ or उअनि or उनि, M. अँ or उँ.	

*Obl. forms used as nom. plur.*

of weak bases	in अ	B. अ-रा or ए-रा, N. अहे-ह or अह-ह, E. H. अ, H. H. अ m., ऐँ f., Br., O. H. अ m., ऐँ f., Mw. अ m., अँ f., P. अ m., इअँ f., S. अ m., अँ or उँ f., M. अ m., G. अ m., ओ c. g.
	in इ	B. इ-रा, N. इहे-ह or इह-ह, E. H. इ, H. H., Br. इ m., इयँ f., Mw. इ m., यँ f., P. इ m., इअँ f., S. इ m., इउँ f., G. इ m., उओ c. g., M. इ c. g.
	in उ	B. उ-रा, N. उहे-ह or उह-ह, E. H. उ, H. H., W. H., P. उ m. उअँ f., S. उ m., उँ f., G. उ m. or उओ c. g., M. उ.

N. B., in O. *deeest* throughout.

of strong bases	in अ	B. आ-रा, N. आहे-ह or आह-ह, E. H., Mw., S. आ m., H. H., P. ए m., Br. आ or ए m., G. आ or आबू m., अँ or ओँ n., M. ए or उ m.
	in ई	B. ई-रा, N. ईहे-ह or ईह-ह, E. H. ई, G. ईओ, H. H. ई m., इयँ f., Br. ई m., ईँ or इयँ f., Mw. ई m., यँ f., P. ई m., ईअँ f., S. ई m., ईयँ f., M. ई m.
	in उ	B. उ-रा, N. उहे-ह or उह-ह, E. H., S. उ, H. H., W. H. उ m., उअँ f., P. उ m., उअँ f., G. उओ or उ c. g., M. उ m.

N. B., in O. *deeest* throughout.

*Note:* It will be observed, that in W. Gd. the obl. plur. of weak nouns in इ and उ generally adopts the obl. termin. of strong nouns in ई and उ, and vice versa in E. H. the obl. plur. of strong nouns in अ, ई, उ the obl. termin. of the weak nouns in अ, इ, उ.

364. *Derivation of the plural signs.* 1) The O. माने or, shortened, मान is, probably, identical with the E. H. plur. मनइ men (§ 361, exc.; from Skr. मानव *man*; not मान *measure*, as Ba. II, 199), and is a plur. noun with the old termination ए, obl.



यन् (see § 363, 2). The E. H. लोग् *men* (Skr. लोक § 102) is also a plur. noun, as shown by its obl. f. लोगन् (§ 363, 2), and, like यान्, is shortened for लोगे. The shortened form यान् is not used with rational beings (see Sn. 11). — 2) The B. is generally said to form a comp. plur. with the pl. sign दिग्, which is sometimes (see Bs. II, 200) believed to be none other than the Skr. दिक् *region, side*. But there can be little doubt, that this identification is a mistake. For a) the B. दिग् ends in (quiescent) घ, while the Skr. दिक् does not; b) a final Skr. क् would not become ग् in either Pr. or Gd.; c) the Skr. दिक् is merely the nom. sg. of the base दिग्, while the B. दिग्, if anything, is an obl. f., i. e., equal to the Skr. gen. sg. (see § 366) which is दिग्ः (Pr. दिसो or rather दिसाद्, cf. H. C. 1, 19. 3, 30); d) the sg. दिग् (or nom. दिक्) is not a collective noun and, therefore, could not serve to form a plur.; on the other hand e) in the plur. (like माने, लोग) it would be Skr. दिग्ः. Pr. दिसाघो, which would not produce the B. दिग्. I am inclined to believe, that दिग् is not a real word, but merely a compound of two case-affixes. The ordinary B. gen. pl. ends in देर. This I divide into दे (base) and र (case-aff.), just as in the gen. sg.; thus देवदेर of *gods* = देवदे-र, just as देवेर of a *god* = देवे-र (see § 365, 6). Here देवदे, like देवे, is an obl. f.; its dir. f. would be देवदा (or देवद); and, in fact, the two forms, thus deduced, are the same as the P. gen. sg. देव-दा and its obl. f. देव-दे. It should be observed that the B. uses the gen. sg. to serve as a plur. base (see § 369); its nom. pl. देवे-रा *gods* is but the st. f. of its gen. sg. देवे-र of a *god*. Similarly it uses an other (now obsolete) gen. sg. देव-दा, to serve as the pl. base of the obl. cases, which are made by adding certain case-affixes. Before the latter, as usual, the base is inflected, i. e., देव-दा becomes देव-दे, and with the gen. aff. र it is देव-दे-र. With the dat. aff. के it ought to be देव-दे-के; but के has a tendency to change to गे (just as in W. H. among the *Mairs* the gen. aff. are गो, गा, etc. for को, का; in N. गू to do for कू) and दे to become दि (just as the B. and E. H. dat. aff. के is in O. कि); hence it is देव-दि-गे

(or देवदिग्गे, as it is commonly spelled, see S. Ch. 58, with two ग्ग, to compensate for the shortening of ए). Similarly with the loc.-aff. ते or के-ते, it is देव-दि-गे-ते (just as, e. g., in H. H. dat.-acc. उस-के-तई to him, lit. up to him). In course of time this origin was forgotten and an imaginary noun दिग्ग formed, and henceforth treated like a real noun. Thus a dat. दिग्ग-के and a gen. दिग्गे was made. The form दिग्गे, however, is, according to S. Ch. 50 not commonly used in speaking, which points to a surviving consciousness on the part of the people of the unfitness of the formation. The occurrence of the ordinary P. gen.-aff. दा in B., at the two furthest extremities of the Gd. area, is no doubt remarkable; but it is by no means the only fact of its kind. Thus there is the same peculiar auxil. past tense in the O. पैला he was and in S. पिछो, P. था; and indeed the ordinary B. and O. gen.-aff. रू occurs also in the distant Mw. रो (see § 377, 1). In each case, these words are almost entirely absent in the intermediate Gds.; though occasionally रो and दा are met with in W. H. (see Kl. 70. 157), and था and प्यो are the regular forms in H. H. and N. respectively, and हू occurs in the plur. of N. (see Nro. 3). It will be shown also in § 377, 3, that the B. instr.-aff. दिया is connected with the gen.-aff. दा. — 3) There is a close analogy between the N. and B. plur. The former is made by adding हेरू or हरू to the sing. But these plur. signs are not, as it has been supposed, nouns, but are compounded of the old gen. or obl. termin. हे or ह (see § 365, 6) and the gen.-aff. रू, which is identical with the B. gen.-aff. रू, but has preserved the old termin. उ. In fact, the N. plur. termin. हेरू is identical with the B. gen. termin. एरू and the B. plur. termin. एरा; the latter being the st. f., the other two wk. forms. Thus N. देवहे-रू or देवह-रू gods = B. देवे-रा (or gen. देवे-रू). The B. ए is but a contraction of the older form अहे or अहि. In the O. Gd. the gen. or obl. sg. in अहे or अहि or अह or (shortened) ए was used as a nom. plur. (see § 369); e. g., तने men = तनहि lit. of man scl. multitude; and in order to make it a plur. base capable of declension, the declinable

gen.-aff. *ह* or (st. f.) *रा* (a curtailed nomin. base, § 377) was added. Thus the N. *जनह-ह* (originally a gen. sg., = Ap. Pr. *जनहो केह*) is now a plur. base, which can be regularly declined; e. g., gen. *जनह-ह-को* of *men*, dat. *जनह-ह-लाई* to *men*, etc. Similarly in B.; only instead of declining the plur. base *जन-रा*, it substitutes in the obl. cases an other plur. base *जन-दा* or *जन-द*, which was also originally a gen. sg. Thus gen. *जन-दे-रू* of *men*, dat. *जन-दि-गे* to *men*, etc. But, as in the case of the B. *दिग्*, the true nature of the N. *हेह* or *हह* is now forgotten, and it is supposed to be a real noun; see also § 369, 1.

365. *Derivation of the obl. terminations.* It will be seen from the table of obl. termin. (§ 363), that they are divisible into two great types, of which those of the M. and S. are respectively most characteristic, and which can be best distinguished in the sing. In M. the sg. obl. forms end in a long, in S. in a short vowel. Thus M. obl. sg. (wk. f.) m. *आ*, f. *ए*, m. f. *ई*, m. f. *उ*, and (st. f.) m. *या*, *वा*, f. *ये*, *वे*; again obl. pl. (wk. f.) m. f. *आँ*, *ईँ*, *ऊँ*, and (st. f.) m. f. *याँ*, *वाँ*. But in S. obl. sg. (wk. f.) m. f. *अ*, *इ*, *उ*, and (st. f.) m. f. *आ* or *ए* (= *अअ*), *इअ*, *उअ* (or in the other Gds. contracted *ई*, *ऊ*); again obl. pl. (wk. f.) m. f. *आँ* or *ऐँ* (in W. H. *आँ*, *आँ*), and (st. f.) m. f. *इआँ* or *इऐँ*, *उआँ* or *उऐँ* (in W. H. *इयोँ* or *इयोँ*, *उओँ* or *उओँ*). To the S. type belong the W. and N. Gds.; to the M. type, of course, the S. Gd. (i. e. M.), though exceptionally, a few forms of the S. type have found admittance into M.; viz., the M. strong obl. forms in *आ*, *ई*, *उ*. The E. Gds. again are a mixture of both; for their short (incl. weak and strong) forms are of the S. type, and their long forms of the M. This double character can be best seen in E. H. — The original of the Gd. oblique form is the Pr. genitive (see § 366). The obl. f. of the M. type goes back to the M. gen.; that of the S. type to the Ap. gen. — 1) *Deriv. of the Mg. type.* The suff. of the gen. sg. are in Mg. Pr. *स्त* (or *स्त* = Skr. *स्य*) or *ह* (Vr. 11, 12. H. C. 4, 299), which are added indifferently to all three kinds of bases in *अ*, *इ* and *उ* of whatever gender (see § 367).

Before ह the final of the base is lengthened. Thus there are two sets of Mg. gen. termin. 1) अस्, इस्, उत्स and 2) आह, ईह, उह or, with strong bases, 1) अअस्, इअस्, उअस् and 2) अआह, इआह, उआह. In M. (representing the old Dk. Pr. of the Mg. Pr. type, see Introd.) the 1<sup>st</sup> set becomes (§§ 143. 147) आस्, ईस्, उस् or (st. f.) यास् (for अयास् or इआस्), वास् (for उआस्), and the 2<sup>nd</sup> set (dropping ह<sup>1</sup>) आ, ई, उ or (st. f.) या (for अया or इआ), वा (for उआ). In the E. H. (= old A. Mg. Pr.) only the 2<sup>nd</sup> set occurs; viz., (lg. f.) अवा, इया, उवा (with euph. वृ and वृ). Both sets are preserved in the M. dat., which is identical with the old gen. (see Vr. 6, 64); thus M. देवास् or देवा to a God = Dk. Pr. देवस् or देवाह, Skr. देवस्य. But, in M., the first set is also preserved in its proper gen. sense in the so-called post-position आठी, which is really a compound of the gen. termin. स् and the post-position आठी (= Ap. Pr. अद्रहिं, Skr. अर्थे for the sake of); thus M. देवासाठी lit. for the sake of God, i. e. देवास् आठी = Dk. Pr. देवस् अद्रहिं, Skr. देवस्य अर्थे. The 2<sup>nd</sup> set is used as the termin. of the ordinary M. and E. H. obl. form, and as such retains its old gen. sense. Thus M. dat. देवा लाई lit. for the benefit of God = Dk. देवाह लाहिं, Skr. देवस्य लाभे; or (lg. f.) M. देवा लाई = Dk. देवाह लाहिं, Skr. देवस्य लाभे; or E. H. dat. देवा के lit. at the side of God, A. Mg. देवाह कहि, Skr. देवस्य कक्षे. — 2) The suff. of the gen. sg. of fem. nouns in आ, ई and उ is in Pr. ए (= Skr. यास्) or, shortened, इ or अ (Vr. 5, 22. 23. H. C. 3, 29. 30). The form अ is, evidently, the latest, whence it passed into Gd. Thus the latest Mg. Pr. gen. termin. are: आअ, ईअ, उअ or, with strong bases, इआअ, उआअ. In M., these become ए (for आय with euph. वृ), ई and उ (dropping अ), and (st. f.) ये, वे (for याय, वाय); and in E. H., (lg. f.) इया, उआ or उवा (dropping अ and inserting euph.

1) As to the Gd. tendency to drop a final ह, see § 32. In the O. H. of Chand *shāh* king is often spelled सा, and *sih* lion सी; e. g., करी आनि साहाब सा बन्धि गोरी, *Revatāta* 43; or रा चावँउ नैतसी *Devagiri* 51 for साहाब साह and नैतसीह.

य and वृ). These M. and E. H. termin. occur in their obl. forms. Thus M. obl. f. जीभे of a tongue, contr. for Dk. जीभाय or जिम्भाय or जिम्भाइ or जिम्भाए = Skr. जिह्वायः, of M. जीभ्, Dk. जिम्भा (H. C. 2, 57), Skr. जिह्वा. — 3) There are some M. strong masc. and fem. nouns in ई and उ, the obl. form of which ends also in ई and उ instead of in या m. (ये f.) and वा m. (वे f.). Thus m. विंचू scorpion has obl. f. विंचवा or विंचू; m. हत्ती elephant has obl. f. हत्ती (not हत्त्या); f. घोड़ी mare has obl. f. घोड़ी, (not घोड़ये), f. सासू mother-in-law has obl. f. सासवे and सासू. It is just possible, that here ई and उ may be contractions of या, ये and वा, वे respectively; but it is much more probable that they are Ap. Pr. forms which have been mixed up in M. with Dk. Pr. forms (see Nro 6)<sup>1</sup>). The same remarks apply to the E. Gd. obl. forms in आ, ई, उ of short-form nouns in आ, ई, उ. Thus E. H. obl. f. घोरा of a horse might be contracted from A. Mg. gen. घोडआह; but it is much more probably a contraction of the Ap. Pr. घोडअहो. — 4) The suff. of the gen. pl. are in Mg. Pr. पां or पा (Vr. 5, 4. 4, 16. H. C. 3, 6. 1, 29 = Skr. नाम्) and हँ (H. C. 4, 300), which are added indifferently to bases in अ, इ and उ of whatever gender (see § 367), and before which the final of the base is lengthened. Thus there are two sets of Mg. Pr. termin.: 1) आपां, ईपां, उपां and 2) आहँ, ईहँ, उहँ, or, with strong bases, 1) अआपां, इआपां, उआपां and 2) अआहँ, इआहँ, उआहँ. In M. the 1<sup>st</sup> set becomes आंना, ईंना, उंना<sup>2</sup>) or (st. f.) यांना (for अयान or इयान), वांना

1) That both the Mg. and Ap. gen. have contributed to the M. obl. forms, can be clearly seen from the following example: Skr. nom. घोटकः, gen. घोटकस्य becomes, in M., nom. घोडा, obl. घोड़या; analogously Skr. वर्त्सर्कः should be, in M., nom. वाटसर्, obl. वाटसर्या, but it becomes वाटसर्, obl. वाटसर्. The reason is, that the former represent Mg. forms: nom. घोडए, gen. घोडआह; the latter Ap. forms: nom. वट्सर्उ, gen. वट्सर्अह or हो.

2) These forms are usually divided into आ + ना, ई + ना, उ + ना, and ना is considered to be an aff., and the rest to be the ordinary obl. f. This is possible, as ना might be a modification of the ordinary M. dat. aff. ला, analogous to the G. sg. and pl. dat. aff. ने. But in that case,

(for उन्नान), and the 2<sup>nd</sup> set becomes (by elision of ह् and contraction of the hiatus-vowels) ञाँ, ईँ, ऊँ or (st. f.) याँ (for ञयाँ or इञाँ), वाँ (for उञाँ). In E. H. the first set becomes (by shortening the initial vowel) ञन्, इन्, उन्, or (lg. f.) ञवन्, इयन्, उञन्, and the 2<sup>nd</sup> set (lg. f.) ञवाँ, इयाँ, उजाँ (with euph. व् and य्). In O. H. (Chand and Kabir), however, examples of the 1<sup>st</sup> set with a long vowel still occur; e. g., महिलान् of *women*, द्रव्यान of *riches*, गुरुन् to *teachers* (Bs. II, 219. 207. 282). In M., the 1<sup>st</sup> set is, just as in the sing., preserved in the dat. (= old gen.); thus M. देवांना to *Gods* = Dk. देवाणां, Skr. देवानाम्. In E. H. the 1<sup>st</sup> set forms the termin. of the ordinary obl. pl., with the sense of the gen.; e. g., loc. देवन् मे lit. *in the midst of Gods* = A. Mg. देवाण मङ्कि, Skr. देवानां मध्ये. The 2<sup>nd</sup> set forms the termin. of the ordinary obl. pl. in M. and obl. sg. in E. H.<sup>1)</sup>, also retaining the sense of the gen.; e. g., loc. M. देवाँ ठाईँ lit. *in the place of Gods* = Dk. देवाहँ ठाणहिं, Skr. देवानां स्थाने, or (lg. f.) M. देवाँ ठाईँ = Dk. देवयाहँ ठाणहिं, Skr. देवकानां स्थ<sup>०</sup>; or (lg. f.) E. H. देववाँ मे *in a God* = A. Mg. देववाहँ मकि, Skr. देवकानां मध्ये. — 5) The masc. nouns in ई and ऊ, mentioned in Nro. 3 as having an obl. sg. in ई and ऊ for या, वा, similarly have an obl. pl. in ईँ and ऊँ, which might be contractions of याँ and वाँ, but more probably are Ap. forms (see Nro. 7). Thus हत्ती *elephant* has obl. pl. हत्तीँ (not हत्तीँ), विंचू *scorpion* has obl. pl. विंचवाँ or विंचूँ. — 6) *Deriv. of the S. type.* The suff. of the gen. sg. are, in the Ap. Pr., हो and हे or, shortened, हु or हि (H. C. 4, 338. 336. 351 and 4, 350. 341. 352. K. I. 30. 34. 36. 35. 29 in Ls. 451. 462), which are added alike to bases in ञ, इ, उ of whatever gender (see § 367). Thus there are two sets of Ap. termin.; viz. 1) अहो, इहो, उहो or अहु, इहु, उहु

one would expect ना to be used also in the sg., which is not the case. On the whole, I think it more probable, that the whole is *one* suff., to which, however, a mistaken popular etymology has given an anomalous final ञा; the forms ought to be ञाँन, ईँन, ऊँन.

1) This confusion of sg. and pl. forms may be also otherwise observed in Gd., see § 367, 5.

and 2) अहे, इहे, उहे or अहि, इहि, उहि or, with strong bases, 1) अग्रहो, इग्रहो, उग्रहो or अग्रहु, इग्रहु, उग्रहु and 2) अग्रहे, इग्रहे, उग्रहे or अग्रहि, इग्रहि, उग्रहि. In old Gd. (O. H., O. P.) the 1<sup>st</sup> set becomes अह, इह, उह or (dropping ह) अ, इ, उ, and the 2<sup>nd</sup> set अहि or ए (contr. for अहि = अइ), इहि, उहि, or in strong bases, 1) अग्रह, इग्रह, उग्रह or आ (for अग्र), इग्र, उग्र, and 2) अग्रहि or आय (for अग्रइ) or ऐ or ए, इग्रहि, उग्रहि. The 1<sup>st</sup> set (in ह) is still found in the O. W. H. of Chand, the 2<sup>nd</sup> set (in हि) in the O. P. of the Granth (see Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI), in the O. H. of Kabir, Tulsí Dás, etc. and in the O. B. of Vidyápati, etc., in their proper sense of the gen. sg.; e. g., मोचार पार्ह चारै सु गोइ । *a herdsman tends the cattle of an other* (Chand 28, 62), or बोल बोलहु अविचारह । *you speak a speech of inconsiderateness* (Ch. 28, 50), or चहुवानह पास । *by the side of the Chahudán* (Ch. 28, 33). Again राम नाम लै वेराधारा ऽ सो तै ले संसारहि पार । i. e., *so thou mayest reach the farther shore of the world* (Kabir Ram. 75, 3), or जीवहि मरन न होइ ॥ i. e., *of the soul there is no dying* (Kabir Ram. 22, 6). Again प्रणऊँ पुर नर नारि बहोरी । ममता जिन पर प्रभुहि न थोरी ॥ i. e., *concerning which the pride of the Lord is not small* (Tulsí Dás, Bal. 10), or होइहि संतत पियहि पियारी ॥ *there will be offspring of the beloved one of the beloved* (T. Dás, Bal. 26), or को गुण दोषहि करै बिचार ॥ i. e., *who takes account of virtue and vice* (T. Dás, Bal. 30). In the sense of the dat. (= old gen.) हि is very common in O. H. <sup>1)</sup>; thus रंगअवनि सब मुनिहि दिखाई ॥ i. e., *he showed all the decorations to the sage* (T. Dás. Bal.), or आपु बुवराजपद रामहि देउ ॥ i. e., *give the heir-apparentship to Rám* (T. Dás Ayodh. 5); also in O. B., e. g., आनहि to another (see Bs. II, 229). Both ह and हि also occur as the termin. of the obl. f.; e. g., क्यूँ सम बान ततारह । *he spoke with the Khán Tartár* (Chand 28, 58), or ततारह उपरह । *upon the Tartár* (Ch. 29, 19); or आदिहि ते सब कथा सुनाई *he narrated the whole story from the beginning* (T. Dás

1) Also often in the sense of the acc. (= dat. = old gen.); e. g., बहु विधि राम शिवहि समुकावा । परवती कर जन्म सुनावा ॥ i. e., *in many ways Rám admonished Shiva and narrated the story of the birth of Parvatí* (T. Dás, Bal. 26), etc. See also Kl. 65. 283. 286 and § 367, 3,

in Bs. II, 212). These examples contain also instances of the curtailed form of the gen.; thus राम नाम लै *taking the name of Rāma*, प्रपाउँ पुर नर नारि *I salute the men and women of the town*, पियारी संतत (for पियारिञ्च) *offspring of the beloved one*, etc. In modern Gd. both sets occur only in their curtailed forms (with one exception in N., see below): 1) अ, इ, उ and 2) ए or, in strong bases, 1) आ, इअ or ई, उअ or उ and 2) आय् or ऐ or ए. The 2<sup>nd</sup> set is still preserved in the B. and O. dat. (= old gen.; especially in words denoting inanimate objects; but generally in poetry and *theth bhāshā*; see S. Ch. 46, 2. 59, 4. 62. 63. Sn. 14. 15); thus B. and O. घरे *to a house* = O. Gd. घरहि, Ap. Pr. घरहे, Skr. गृहस्य; B. दीने *to the poor*, O. Gd. दीनहि, Ap. दीणहे, Skr. दीनस्य; B. तामाय् *to copper*, O. Gd. तामाहि or तामअहि, Ap. तम्बअहे, Skr. ताम्रकस्य, etc. But both sets are used in all Gds. (with the exceptions in Nros 1—5) as the ordinary termin. of the obl. sg., and as such retain their old gen. sense. They are distributed among the various Gds. in the following manner. The contracted weak form ए is confined to the gen. and loc. sg. and nom. pl. of B.; thus B. gen. sg. देवे-र lit. *done of God*, O. Gd. देवहि कर्, Ap. देवहे केह, Skr. देवस्य कृतः (see § 377); loc. sg. देवे ते *in God*; nom. pl. देवे-रा *Gods*, O. Gd. देवहि कर्, Ap. देवहे केउ, Skr. देवस्य कृतकः scl. सङ्गः (see § 364, 2). N. has preserved even the full old form (in हे or ह) in its nom. pl.; thus N. देवह-र or देवहे-र *Gods*, O. Gd. देवह कर्, Ap. देवहे or °हो केह, Skr. देवस्य कृतः (scl. सङ्गः). The contr. st. f. आ occurs in B., O., Mw. and G.; E. H. has आ and ए, Br. आ and ऐ (i. e. आ in subst., ए or ऐ in adj.); P. and S. have ए; thus gen. sg., B., O. घोडा-र, Mw. घोडा-रो, E. H. घोरा कै, Br. घोडा कौ, G. घोडा नो, P. घोडे दा, S. घोडे जो *of a horse*, O. Gd. घोउअह or °हि करौ or करौ, Ap. घोउअहो or °हे केउ, Skr. घोटकस्य कृतकः; again E. H. भले कै, Br. भलै कौ *of good*, O. H. भलुअहि क°, Ap. भलुअहे क°, Skr. भद्रकस्य क°. The uncontr. st. f. इअ and उअ are possessed by S. only; the contr. ई and उ by all other Gds.; thus loc. sg., E. H. etc. हाथी मे, but S. हथिअ मे lit. *in the midst of the elephant*, O. Gd. हथिअह माँही, Ap. हथिअहो मङ्कहिं, Skr. हस्तिकस्य मध्ये; cr E. H. etc. विडू मे, but



8. विष्णु मे<sup>०</sup> *in the midst of the scorpion*, O. Gd. विष्णुह म<sup>०</sup>, Ap. विष्णुहो म<sup>०</sup>, Skr. वृश्चिकस्य म<sup>०</sup>, etc. The weak forms म, इ, उ are common to all Gds; thus dat. sg., O. नर कु, B., E. H. नर के, Br. नर कै, Mw. नर नै, G. नर ने, P. नर नूँ, N. नर लार्हि, S. नर खे lit. *by the side of the man*, Skr. नरस्य कक्षे. — 7) The suff. of the gen. plur. are, in the Ap. Pr., हं, हुं and हिं (H. C. 4, 339. 340. 337. cf. 347. 351. K. I. 31. 32. 28 in Ls. 451), which are added indifferently to bases in म, इ, उ of whatever gender (§ 367). Thus there are three sets of Ap. Pr. termin.: 1) मंहं, इंहं, उंहं, 2) महुं, इहुं, उहुं, 3) महिं, इहिं, उहिं or, with strong bases, 1) ममंहं, इमंहं, उमंहं, 2) ममहुं, इमहुं, उमहुं, 3) ममहिं, इमहिं, उमहिं. In O. H. the 3<sup>d</sup> set is still found in the sense of the dat. (= old gen.); thus मातुपितृहिं पुनि यह मत भावा *this counsel, again, pleased (her) parents* (T. Dās. in Kl. 286); or दीन्ह मसीस सबहिं सुखमानो *he gave a blessing to all of happy import* (T. Dās, Bal.); or जो तुमहिं सुता पर नेहूँ lit. *if to you there is love for your daughter or if there is love of you for your daughter*<sup>1)</sup>. In modern Gd., ह is elided and the hiatus-vowels contracted; thus 1) मँ, ईँ, ऊँ, 2) मौ or मोँ, (इहुं *deest*), ऊँ, 3) ऐँ or ऐँ, ईँ, (उहिं *deest*) or, in strong bases, 1) मँ, इयँ or यँ, उमँ or वँ, 2) मौ or मोँ, इयौ or इयोँ or इयूँ, उमौ or उमोँ or ऊँ, 3) ऐँ or ऐँ, इऐँ or ईँ, उऐँ. Most of these forms serve as the termin. of the ordinary obl. plur., and, as such, retain their original gen. sense. They are distributed among the various Gds., as follows. The forms मँ (wk. or st.), इयँ or यँ, उमँ or वँ occur in S., P. and Mw.; the forms मौ or मोँ (wk. or st.), इयौ or इयोँ, उमौ or उमोँ in Br. and H. H.; the forms ऐँ (wk. or st.), इऐँ, उऐँ in S., and the st. forms ईँ and ऊँ in M. Thus loc. pl.; S., P., Mw. नरँ मे<sup>०</sup> lit. *in the midst of men*, Ap. नरहं मत्तहिं, Skr. नराणां मध्ये; Br. नरौ मे<sup>०</sup>, H. H. नरो मे<sup>०</sup>, Ap.

1) Also often in the sense of the acc. (= dat. = old gen.); e. g., तब रामहिं बिलोकि बैदेही *then Vaidehī having beheld Rāma* (T. Dās, Bal.); रामहिं is here the plur. majestatis; but the pl. हिं is often used for the sg. हि, see § 367, 5.

नरुं म°; S. नरे° मे°, Ap. पारुहिं म°; or in st. f., S., P., Mw. घोडौ मे°  
*in the midst of horses*, Ap. घोडग्रहं मज्जहिं, Skr. घोटकानां मध्ये; Br.  
 घोडौ मे°, H. H. घोडो मे°, Ap. घोडग्रहुं म°; S. घोड मे°, Ap. घोडग्रहिं म°,  
 etc. Again M. dat. pl. हत्ती ला lit. *for the benefit of elephants*,  
 Ap. हत्तिग्रहिं लाहि, Skr. हस्तिकानां लाभे, etc. The rest of the forms  
 are used as termin. of the nom. pl.; see § 369<sup>1</sup>). — 8) I add  
 a few more examples to illustrate the preceding remarks: *Weak*  
*bases in ष*: masc. or neut., जल *water*; gen. sg., Skr. जलस्य, 1) Mg.  
 Pr. (a) जलश्र or (b) जलाह, M. (a) जलास् or (b) जला; 2) Ap. Pr.  
 (c) जलहो or (d) जलहे, O. Gd. (c) जलह or (d) जलहि, M. Gd. (c)  
 जल (in all) or (d) जले (in B. and O.). Fem. जिह्वा *tongue*, gen. sg.  
 Skr. जिह्वाः, 1) Mg. Pr. (a) जिभाए or जिभाइ or जिभाअ or जिभाय  
 (with euph. य्), M. (a) जिभे; 2) Ap. Pr. (b) जिभहो or (c) जिभहे,  
 O. Gd. (b) जीमह or (c) जीमहि, M. Gd. (b) जीम (in all) or (c) जीमे  
 (in B., O.). Gen. plur., Skr. जलानाम्, जिह्वानाम्, 1) Mg. Pr. (a) जलापां,  
 जिभापां or (b) जलाह, जिभाह, M. (a) जलांना, जिभांना or (b) जलौ,  
 जिभौ, E. H. (a) जलन्, जीमन्, Br. (a) जलन् or जलनि, जीमन् or जीमनि,  
 S. (a) जलनि, जीमुनि; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) जलहं, जिभहं or (d) जलहुं, जिभहुं  
 or (e) जलहिं, जिभहिं, O. H. (e) जलहिं, जिभहिं, S., P., Mw. (c) जलौ,  
 जिभौ, Br. (d) जलौ, जीभौ, H. H. (d) जलौ, जीभौ, S. (d) जले, जिभे. —  
*Strong bases in ष*: masc. or neut., ताम्रक *copper*; gen. sg., Skr.  
 ताम्रस्य, 1) Mg. Pr. (a) तम्रश्र or (b) तम्राह (with euph. य्); M.  
 (a) तौब्यास् or (b) तौब्या, E. H. (lg. f.) (b) ताम्वा (with euph. व्);  
 2) Ap. Pr. (c) तम्रहो or (d) तम्रहे, O. Gd. (c) तौबाह or (d) तौबाहि,  
 O., E. H. (c) तामा, W. H., N., G. (c) तौबा, B. (c) तामा or (d)  
 तामाय, P., H. H. (d) तौबे, S. (d) टामे. Fem., see fem. strong bases in इ.  
 Gen. plur., Skr. ताम्रकानाम्, 1) Mg. Pr. (a) तम्रयापां or (b) तम्रयाह,  
 M. (a) तौब्यांना or (b) तौब्याँ, E. H. (lg. f.) (a) तामवन् (with euph. व्)  
 or (b) तामवौ (but used in the sg.); E. H. has also the anomalous  
 short form तामन्, Br. तौबन् or तौबनि, S. टामनि; 2) Ap. Pr. (c)  
 तम्रहं or (d) तम्रहुं or (e) तम्रहिं, P., Mw. (c) तौबाँ, S. (c) टामौ,  
 Br. (d) तौबाँ, H. H. (d) तौबाँ, S. (e) टामे. Fem., see fem. strong

1) Some of them are also used to form the loc., instr. and abl. sg.  
 or pl. in S., P. and M.; see §§ 367, 2. 376, 3. 378, 3.

bases in इ. — *Weak bases in इ*: masc. or neut., कवि *poet.*; gen. sg., Skr. कवेः (lit. कविस्य); 1) Mg. Pr. (a) कविश्च or (b) कवीह्, M. (a) कवीस् or (b) कवी; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) कविहो or (d) कविहे, O. Gd. (c) कविह् or (d) कविहि, M. Gd. (c) कवि (in all). *Fem.* भिन्नि *wall*; gen. sg., Skr. भिन्त्याः or भिन्नेः (lit. भिन्नस्य); 1) Mg. Pr. (a) भिन्निश्च or (b) भिन्नीह्, M. (a) भोत्तीस् or (b) भोत्ती; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) भिन्निहो or (d) भिन्निहे, O. Gd. (c) भोतिह् or (d) भोतिहि. P., S. (c) भिति, B., O., E. H., W. H., G. भित. *Gen. plur.*, Skr. कवीनाम्, भिन्नीनाम्; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) कवीणां, भिन्नीणां or (b) कवीह्, भिन्नीह्, M. (a) कवीन्ना, भोत्तीन्ना or (b) कवी, भोत्ती, E. H. (a) कविन्, भोतिन्, Br. कविन् or कविनि, भोतिन् or भोतिनि, S. कविनि, भितिनि or (lg. f.) भित्तिश्चनि or भित्तिउनि; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) कविहं, भिन्निहं or (d) कविहुं, भिन्निहुं or (e) कविहिं, भिन्निहिं, O. H. (e) कविहिं, भोतिहिं, in M. Gd.; only the long forms occur; viz. Ap. Pr. (c) कविश्चहं, भिन्निश्चहं or (d) कविश्चहुं, भिन्निसहुं or (e) कविश्चहिं, भिन्निश्चहिं, Mw., P., S. (c) कवियौ, Br. (d) कवियौ, H. H. (d) कवियो, भोतियो, S. (e) कविर्, भिन्निर्. — *Strong bases in इ*: masc. or neut., मालिक *gardener*; gen. sg., Skr. मालिकस्य; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) मालिक्श्च or (b) मालिक्छाह्, M. (a) माल्यास् or (b) माल्या, E. H. (lg. f.) (b) मलिया; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) मालिक्छहो or (d) मालिक्छहे, O. Gd. (c) मालिक्छह् or (d) मालिक्छहि, S. (c) मालिक्छ, E. H. etc. (c) माली. *Fem.* घोटिका *mare*; gen. sg., Skr. घोटिकायाः, Ap. Pr. (a) घोडिक्छहो or (b) घोडिक्छहे, O. Gd. (a) घोडिक्छह् or (b) घोडिक्छहि, S. (a) घोडिक्छ, E. H., M., etc. (a) घोडी. The Mg. forms exist only in M. monosyllabic words and E. H. long forms: as स्त्रिका *woman*; gen. sg., Skr. स्त्रिकायाः, Mg. \*स्त्रियाए or \*स्त्रियाइ or \*स्त्रियाय, M. स्त्रिये, E. H. स्त्रिया (tats.); similarly E. H. (lg. f.) घोडिया. *Gen. plur.*, Skr. मालिकानाम्, घोटिकानाम्; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) मालिक्छाणां, घोडिक्छाणां or (b) मालिक्छाह्, घोडिक्छाह्, M. (a) माल्यन्ना, घोड्यन्ना or (b) माल्यौ, घोड्यौ, E. H. (lg. f.) (a) मलियन्, घोडियन् or (b) मलियाँ, घोडियाँ (but used in the sing.); Br. (a) मालिक्छनि, घोडिक्छनि, S. (a) मालिक्छनि or माल्यनि or मालिउनि or माल्युनि, घोडिक्छनि or घोडिउनि, etc.; E. H. has also the anomalous short forms मालिन्, घोडिन्, Br. and S. मालिनि, घोडिनि; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) मालिक्छहं, घोडिक्छहं or (d) मालिक्छहुं, घोडिक्छहुं or (e) मालिक्छहिं, घोडिक्छहिं, S. (a) मालिक्छौ or माल्यौ, घोडिक्छौ or घोड्यौ, Mw. (a) माल्यौ, घोड्यौ, P. (a) मालीक्छौ, घोडीक्छौ

(with anomalous ई), Br. (d) मालियौ, घोडियौ, H. H. (d) मालियो, घोडियो, S. (e) मालिऐ, घोडिऐ. — *Weak bases in ३*: masc. or neut., गुरु teacher; gen. sg., Skr. गुरोः (lit. गुरुस्य); 1) Mg. Pr. (a) गुलुग्रा or (b) गुलूह, M. (a) गुरुल् or (b) गुरुः; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) गुरुहो or (d) गुरुहे, O. Gd. (c) गुरुह or (d) गुरुहि, M. Gd. (c) गुरु (in all). *Fem.* like masc. *Gen. plur.*, Skr. गुरुणाम्; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) गुलूपां or (b) गुलूह, M. (a) गुरुल्ना or (b) गुरुल्, E. H. (a) गुरुन्, Br. (a) गुरुन् or गुरुनि, S. (a) गुरुनि; 2) short forms *desunt* in Gd.; in their place the long forms are used: Ap. Pr. (c) गुरुग्रहं or (d) गुरुग्रहं or (c) गुरुग्रहि, P. (c) गुरुग्रौ, Mw. (c) गुर्वौ, Br. (d) गुरुग्रौ, H. H. (d) गुरुग्रौ, O. H. (e) गुरुग्रिं or गुरुग्रहि. *Fem.* like masc. — *Strong bases in ३*: masc. or neut., वृश्चिक scorpion; gen. sg., Skr. वृश्चिकस्य; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) विच्छुग्र or (b) विच्छुग्राह, M. (a) विंच्वास् or (b) विंच्वा, E. H. (lg. f.) (b) विच्छुग्रा or विच्छुवा; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) विच्छुग्रहो or (d) विच्छुग्रहे, O. Gd. (c) विच्छुग्रह or (d) विच्छुग्रहि, S. (c) विच्छुग्र, E. H. (c) विच्छु, M. (c) विंच्. *Fem.* बालुका sand; gen. sg., Skr. बालुकायाः; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) बालुग्राए or बालुग्राइ or बालुग्राय, M. (a) बालू, E. H. (lg. f.) (a) बालुग्रा or बालुवा; 2) Ap. Pr. (b) बालुग्रहो or (c) बालुग्रहे, O. Gd. (b) बालुग्रह or (c) बालुग्रहि, S. (b) बालुग्र, E. H., etc. बालू. *Gen. plur.*, Skr. वृश्चिकानाम्; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) विच्छुग्रापां or (b) विच्छुग्राह, M. (a) विंच्वांना or (b) विंच्वाँ, E. H. (lg. f.) (a) विच्छुग्रन् or (b) विच्छुग्रौ (but used in the sing.), Br. विच्छुग्रन् or विच्छुग्रनि, S. विच्छुग्रनि; E. H. has also the anomalous short form विच्छुन्, Br. and S. विच्छुनि; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) विच्छुग्रहं or (d) विच्छुग्रहं or (e) विच्छुग्रहि, P. and S. (c) विच्छुग्रौ, Mw. (c) विच्छुग्रौ, Br. (d) विच्छुग्रौ, H. H. (d) विच्छुग्रौ, S. (e) विच्छुग्रै. *Fem.* like masc. — G. is peculiar in dropping the final *anunásika* in the obl. plur. of masc. and fem. nouns; e. g., G. obl. pl. देवो Gods for \*देवो, Ap. देवहुं; fem. जीभो tongues for \*जीभो, Ap. जिभहु; again in strong bases: G. masc. obl. pl. घोडाव or घोडाउ<sup>1</sup>)

1) These forms are sometimes spelled with final ओ, as घोडाओ (so in Ed. 36. Bs. II, 189); the really correct spelling is with उ or व्, as written for me by a Pandit. But it is quite customary now in Gd., to spell the same final sound as उ or व् or ओ; thus in W. H. देउ or देव् or देओ god, चहाउ or चहाव् or चहाओ attack.

*horses* for \*घोडाउँ, Ap. घोडाहुँ; fem. घोडीउ *books*, Ap. पोथिअहु. According to H. C. 4, 351, even in the Ap. Pr., fem. nouns have no final anuswára. But G. retains it in neut. nouns; e. g., G. obl. pl. सोनाँव् or सोनाँउ, Ap. सोसअहुँ. On the other\* hand, it adds it anomalously in the sg. neut.; as G. obl. sg. सोनाँ *gold* for \*सोना, Ap. सोसअहो.

366. *Origin of the obl. form.* 1) The Gd. obl. f. is identical with the Skr. and Pr. gen. case. For a) it has been already shown (§ 365) that the suff. of the former can be phonetically traced back to those of the latter. b) It will be shown in §§ 375—378, that the Gd. case-affixes are, in reality, nouns (generally in the loc. case); as such they must be constructed with the gen. of the noun, which they govern; hence it follows that the obl. f., in which the latter is always put, when it takes a case-aff., must be the old gen.; e. g., E. H. नरन् मे वाटै *he is in the midst of men*, O. H. नरन्ह महि वाटै, Pr. नरापां मन्कि वट्टइ, Skr. नरापां मध्ये वर्तते. c) Pr. Gramm. state expressly (H. C. 4, 422. T. V. 3, 3. 56) that the word केर, which is the same as the E. H. gen. aff. कै or कर् or O. H. केर, is constructed with the gen., whence it follows that the obl. form, with which those gen. aff. are constructed, is the old gen. d) It can be shown, that Pr. has a tendency to substitute the gen. in the place of all other obl. cases and to make it the *one, universal inflexion*. This proves that the obl. form, which is the one, universal inflexion in Gd., must be the old gen. In Pr. this is but an other instance of its general tendency to produce uniformity of grammatical forms. Two instances of this have been already noticed; the one in regard to roots (§ 347), the other referring to bases (§ 205). Here we have a third instance, affecting the *cases*. In Skr. there are, generally, seven cases or inflexions: the nom., acc., instr., dat., abl., gen., loc. In Pr. the dat. has (almost) entirely disappeared, and its place been taken by the gen. (Vr. 6, 64. H. C. 3, 131); but there is a tendency to substitute the gen. for the other obl. cases also, so as to leave only two inflexions, the nom. and gen. This is

expressly stated by Pr. Gramm. (H. C. 3, 134. T. V. 2, 3. 39). In the Ap. Pr. that process of substitution is especially marked. Its gen. suff. are expressly stated to form the abl. (compare H. C. 4, 336. 337\* 341. 351 with 4, 338. 340) and the loc. (H. C. 4, 340) also<sup>1)</sup>. In Gd. there are only two inflexions left, the direct form or nomin., and the obl. form or gen. But in order to obviate the necessary ambiguity of this uniformity, Gd. adds different affixes to the obl. form, to indicate the particular *case*, in the sense of which the obl. form is to be understood. Thus the obl. form with *कै* means the gen., with *से* the instr., with *मे* the loc., etc. In this way the original seven cases are re-established in Gd. — 2) It should be observed, however, that since there are in the Ap. Pr. several gen. suff. for the sing. (हो and हे) and the plur. (हं, हुं, हिं), several obl. forms are possible in the Gds. and do actually exist in most of them. In the latter case, one of them is used as the *general* obl. form and always constructed with case-aff.; but the other constitutes a *special* obl. form for one or, at most, two cases, and, as a rule, takes no affix. Thus there is in G. and Mw. the *general* obl. f. sg. in *अ* = Ap. gen. in *अहो*, and the *special* obl. f. sg. in *ऐ* or *ए* = Ap. gen. in *अहे*; e. g., G. instr. घोडा पो or घोडे *by a horse*; Mw. loc. घोडा माँ or घोडै *in a horse*. — 3) It is curious to observe that the levelling process noted just now, has a tendency, both in the Ap. and in Gd., to reduce the whole declension to *one inflexion*, by substituting (§ 369) the obl. form even for the dir. form or nom. case. The cause, possibly, was their similarity; thus in the Ap. the nom. sg. would be देवन्नो or देवउ *god* (Skr. देवः), the gen. sg. देवहो or देवहु; whence, by inserting an euph. ह in the nom., the two forms would be easily assimilated.

1) Exceptionally all these cases are preserved in Pr.; thus the dat. sg. in the sense of „for the sake of“ (H. C. 3, 132. 133), as देवाय *for the sake of god*; in the Ap. Pr., the abl. sg. in चादु or चाउ (Ls. 461), and the loc. sg. in इ (H. C. 4, 334 = Skr. ए). The abl. sg. in चाउ survives even in S. poetry (Tr. 118).

367. *Distribution of the Pr. gen. suff.* The ordinary Pr. suff. of the gen. sg. is स्स and of the pl. पां. There are also the suff., sg. ह, pl. हँ which are peculiar to Mg., and sg. हो or हे, pl. हं, हुं or हिं which are peculiar to Ap. 1) The ordinary\* Pr. suff. are derived from the Skr. sg. स्य, pl. नाम् (i. e. नृ + अम्). In Skr., नाम् is added to all three kinds of bases in अ, इ and उ; but स्य is added only to अ-bases. In Pr. both पां and स्स, and similarly the special suff. ह, हं, etc., are added to all three kinds. In Vr. 5, 8. H. C. 3, 10 स्स and पां are apparently limited to *a*-bases, but the succeeding rules Vr. 6, 60. H. C. 3, 124 extend them to *i*- and *u*-bases also; and this is born out by Pr. literature. Hence there can be no doubt, that the Mg. ह and हँ and the Ap. हो, though apparently limited by H. C. 4, 299. 300. 338 to *a*-bases, in reality belong to *i*- and *u*-bases also. This is born out by the evidence of modern Gd.; and, moreover, it is expressly affirmed by K. I. and Md. Thus H. C. 4, 336. 338 gives हो to the gen. and abl. of masc. (always incl. neut.) *a*-bases; and हे to the abl. of masc. *i*- and *u*-bases (4, 341)<sup>1</sup>). Again K. I. (30. 34 in Ls. 451. 462) gives हो to the gen. of all masc. bases and to the abl. of masc. *i*- and *u*-bases; and हे (29. 36) to the abl. of all masc. bases and to the gen. of masc. *a*-bases. Again both H. C. (4, 350) and K. I. (35) give हे to the gen. and abl. of all fem. bases. Lastly Md. gives both हो and हे to the abl. of all masc. and fem. bases<sup>2</sup>). These conflicting statements really supplement each other, as shown by modern Gd. It should be remembered, 1) that the abl. and gen. are identical in Ap. Pr. (as, indeed, they ge-

1) H. C. 4, 336 gives हु as the abl. suff. of *a*-bases, but this is merely a shortening of हो, which is given by Md. (see next footnote). As to the gen. of *i*- and *u*-bases, H. C. is silent; which seems to indicate, that it may be हो by the analogy of *a*-bases, and हे by the usual identity of the gen. and abl. of cases.

2) Md. says: उसेस्तु हे हो च ॥ उसेः स्थाने हेहौ च स्यातां ॥ रुक्खहे पडिदु । रुक्खहो ॥ (अग्निहे) । अग्निहो ॥ बालाहे । बालाहो ॥ i. e., *the abl. sg. has हे or हो, as „he is fallen from a tree, from fire, from a girl“*. On the gen., I cannot find any rule; which would seem to show that it is identical with the abl.

nerally are even in Skr.), and 2) that the Ap., no doubt, varied slightly in the localities of the different grammarians. The general result is, that in the Ap. Pr. both हो and हे were used to form both the gen. and abl. of all bases in *a*, *i*, *u*, whether masc., fem., or neut. — The case of the Ap. plur. suff. हं and हुं is similar. In H. C. 4, 339. 340 हं is ascribed to the gen. and हुं to the abl. (4, 337. 341) of all masc. bases, and हुं (4, 340) also to the gen. of masc. bases in *i* and *u*. Again K. I. (31. 32) gives हं to the gen. of all masc. bases and to the abl. (33) of masc. bases in *i* and *u*, and हुं to the abl. (28) of masc. bases in *a*. Lastly Mḍ. allows both हं and हुं to all masc., both in the gen. and abl.<sup>1</sup>). As regards the fem. bases, both K. I. and Mḍ. are silent, which really means, that their gen. and abl. do not differ from those of the masc. (and neut.). This is confirmed by H. C. 4, 351, who gives to the fem. gen. and abl. the suff. हु, which is either the same as the sg. gen. and abl. suff. हु or हो (H. C. 4, 336. 338), or identical with the pl. gen. and abl. suff. हुं dropping the anuswāra. The general result again is, that in the Ap. Pr. both हं and हुं are used to form both the gen. and abl., pl. of all bases in *a*, *i*, *u*, whether masc., fem., or neut. And this is born out by the state of the modern Gḍs. — 2) As to the Ap. pl. suff. हिं, both H. C. (4, 347) and Mḍ.<sup>2</sup>) ascribe it to the loc. and instr. plur. K. I., by his silence (Ls. 463), probably implies the same thing; since हिं was already the instr. pl. suff. in the Mh. Pr. (Vr. 5, 18). But it appears to have been used also for the gen. plur. This is, perhaps, the true reading

1) Mḍ. says: हंहुं भ्यसः ॥ भ्यसो हंहुमौ स्यातां ॥ रुक्महं पडिदु ॥ पारुहुं चलिदु. ॥ बाहुल्यात्. रुक्माहिंतो । परेसुतो ॥ सुपो वा । असो वा । हंहुमौ स्यातां ॥ वम्मपाहं । वम्मपाहुं । ब्राह्मणानामित्यर्थे । वम्मपापां ॥ i. e., the abl. pl. takes हं or हुं; as „it fell from the trees“, „he came from foreign (countries)“; also the loc. and gen. pl. take हं and हुं, as „of Brāhmins“.

2) Mḍ. says: हिंभिस्त्रिसुपां ॥ त्रिषेपां हिं स्यात् । पुरिसहिं । वपोहिं । वहुहिं ॥ i. e., all bases in *a*, *i*, *u* take हिं in the loc. and instr. plur., as „in or by men, in or by forests, in or by wives“.



in K. I. 32 (Ls. 451. 464), where *हे* is given for the gen. plur. Again both H. C. (4, 340) and Mḍ. (see footnote 1, p. 205) allow the gen. suff. *हं* and *हुं* to the loc. plur. also; vice versa, the loc. suff. *हिं* may have been allowed to the gen. At all events, in O. Gḍ., *हिं* is found as a suff. of the dat. (= old gen.); and in M. Gḍ. (S.) it appears as the obl. pl. suff. *रै* (contr. for *अहिं*); see examples in § 365, 7. Indeed the term. *अहिं* seems to occur in the contracted form *रं* even in the Ap. Pr.; though as a term. of the instr. sing. (see H. C. 4, 343. K. I. 23. 24). The examples in Mḍ. are: *वपारं by a forest*, *बालारं by a girl*, *अगिरं by fire*, *वाउरं by wind*; they would be equal to \**वपाअहिं*, \**बालाअहिं*, \**अगिअहिं*, \**वाउअहिं*. Here *रं* can hardly be = Skr. term. एन (as Ls. 461); for the latter would not be added to fem. bases in *आ*. Moreover, as will be shown in Nro. 3, the sing. term. *अहि* is similarly contracted to *र*. It may, also, be added that the pl. term. *अहिं* is similarly used as a term. of the loc. sing. (see K. I. 26. 27. Ls. 451. 463), as *घरहिं* or *घरे* or *घरि in a house*. In Gḍ., this practise of using the pl. suff. for the sing. is sometimes extended to all plur. suff. *हं*, *हुं*, *हिं*; see Nro. 5. — 3) The Ap. sing. suff. *हो* is sometimes shortened to *हु* (H. C. 4, 336. 351); thus H. C. has *रुखहु*, but Mḍ. (see footnote 2, p. 204) *रुखहु* from a tree or of a tree; sometimes even to *ह*, according to Ls' conjecture of K. I. 34 (Ls. 462); e. g., *अगिहो* or *अगिह of fire*; sometimes even *ह* is dropped (H. C. 4, 345). In the form *हु* it still occurs in the O. P. of the Granth (Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI) and expresses the abl. In the form *ह* it is often found in the O. W. H. of Chand, and expresses the gen., abl., loc., act., acc.-dat.; thus *gen.* in *गोचार परह चारै सु गोइ* i. e., *the herdsman tends the cows of an other* (28, 62), or *सेन भीमह करि जिनिय* i. e., *he dispersed the Army of Bhimg* (38, 41), or *चक्र्यौ उदै क्रूरह बलिय* i. e., *he marched at the rise of mighty Saturn* (27, 47), or *बन नूय मृग सिंघह रु गत* i. e., *in the forest is plenty of deer, lions and elephants* (27, 13); *abl.* in *फूलह सुधार धर* i. e., *having adorned the body with flowers* (38, 37) or *तब सुमंत परधानह पुहिय* i. e., *then he asked good counsel of the Premier* (28, 88);

loc. ज्ञाने कि अकासह मान दिन । *just as in the sky the measure of day*, i. e., *the sun* (26, 25), or न्याय तौ कलह न किञ्जै । i. e., *justice is not done in the Kali age* (28, 41); act. बीसलह राज कपि पुञ्ज कथ्य । i. e., *Visala rája told the whole story* (1, 82) or तप सु इति तुअह । i. e., *the Tuar has abandoned asceticism* (28, 55); acc. अनंगपालह बुलाइय । i. e., *he has called Anangpála* (28, 9), or अनंगेसह लैआउ । i. e., *bring ye Anangesa* (28, 77). The form without ह is the common one in M. Gd.; see § 365, 6. — 4) The Ap. sg. suff. हे of the gen. and abl. is sometimes also used as a loc. suff., e. g., एनाहे *now*, lit., *in that*, *sel. time* (H. C. 2, 134; the same एनाहे is an abl. *from that*, H. C. 3, 82. 83), or एनहे *in this*, तेनहे *in that*, *sel. place* (H. C. 4, 436). But, as a rule, it is shortened to हि, when it expresses the loc. (H. C. 4, 341. 352), e. g., कलिहि *in the Kali age*; and after *a*-bases ह् may be elided, as पच्छइ *behind, after* (H. C. 4, 420 for \*पच्छहि), आगइ *before* (H. C. 4, 391), एम्बइ *thus* (H. C. 4, 420), but commonly the term. अहि (or अइ) is contracted to ए (H. C. 4, 334), e. g., तले *below* for \*तलइ or \*तलहि<sup>1)</sup>. In this contracted form ए, it is also used in the Ap. Pr. to express the instr. sg. (of fem. nouns)<sup>2)</sup>; see H. C. 4, 349. 333. K. I. 38 and Md. स्त्रियां च ए च स्यात् ॥ बुद्धि । धेनु । पाइए । बहुर । बालाए ॥ i. e., *fem. bases also take ए* (viz. besides ए, as बालाए), as *by intelligence, by a cow, by a river, by a wife, by a girl*; contr. for \*बुद्धिअहि, \*पाइअहि (Skr. नदिकायाम्). In the form हि it still occurs in the O. P. of the Granth, to express the gen., abl., dat. and acc. (see Tr. A. Gr. CXXV); also in O. H., to express the gen., abl., loc., dat. and acc.; thus *gen. in राजहि तुम पर प्रीति विशेषी there is a special love of*

1) This ए is usually considered to be the Skr. and (Mh. Pr.) loc. suff. ए; but that old suff. is hardly likely to have survived so long; and has been, indeed, worn down to इ in Ap. (H. C. 4, 334); e. g., Ap. तले or तलि *below*; the former = Ap. तलहि, the latter = Skr. तले.

2) This cannot be the Mh. Pr. instr. suff. ए; for that suff. had already in the Mh. Pr. been (optionally) worn down to इ or अ, and, moreover, requires the lengthening of the final vowel of the base (Vr. 5, 22); thus the instr. sg. of नदी *river* is in Mh. Pr. पाइए or पाइइ or पाइअ, but in the Ap. पाइए.

*the king for you* (T. Dās in Kl. 286); *abl.* को किहि वंसहि उपज्यौ (Chand I, 167 in Bs. II, 211), or गुरुहि मूढ करि कुलिविधि राजा *the king having enquired from the Guru performed the family rites* (T. Dās in Kl. 65); *loc.* in किहि कात्र रिषि आयौ घरहि *for what cause, Rishi; hast thou come into the house* (Chand I, 45 in Bs. II, 211); *dat.* बहु विधि चेहि आदर देइ *in many ways he shows honor to the bond-maid* (T. Dās in Kl. 286); *acc.* मुनि रघुबरहि प्रसंस *the sage extolled Raghubar* (T. Dās in Kl. 283); see other examples in § 365, 6. The contr. form ए is used in B. and O., to express the dat.-acc., loc. and instr.; as घरे *to or in or by a house* (see S. Ch. 59, 4. 62. Sn. 15); and in B. even for the nom. (S. Ch. 56, see § 369). In G. and Mw. it is used to express the instr. (or act.) and loc.; thus G. घरे, Mw. घरै *by or in a house* (Kl. 66, a. Ed. 31, 87. 34, d); in H., P., S. it is used for the loc.; thus घरे *in the house* (Ld. 12, 37. 77, 133. Tr. 120, 7). — 5) The Ap. Pr. gen. plur. suff. are sometimes used in the sing. Thus in the Ap., the suff. हिं (or the term. अहिं), which commonly expresses the loc. or instr. pl. (H. C. 4, 347) is often used for the loc. sg.; see K. I. 26. 27 (in Ls. 451. 462); e. g., सुरहिं or सुरे or सुरि *in a god*; and, in the contracted form एं, for the instr. sg. (H. C. 4, 343, see Nro. 2); e. g., अगिएं *by fire* for \*अगिअहिं (Skr. अग्निकेन). In O. H. the suff. हिं is as often used for the dat., acc. and loc. in the sing. as in the plur.; thus *dat.* in कहु केहि रंकहिं करौ नरेसु, i. e., *say, what pauper shall I make a king* (T. Dās in Kl. 283); *loc.* in नित्र लोकहिं विरच गये देखन्ह इहै सिखाइ i. e., *Brahmā, having taught this the gods, went to his own world* (T. Dās in Kl. 122); *acc.* in रामहिं प्रेम समेत लखि सखिन समीप बुलाइ i. e. *beholding Rāma with affection she called near her friends* (T. Dās in Bāl.), etc. Similarly it occurs in M., in the contracted form ईं, both in the loc. sg. and plur. (Man. 17, 45. 27, 66. 28, 2); as घरै in a house or in houses for \*घरहिं; and, in the contracted form एं, in the instr. sg. (Man. 17, 45. 28, 66); e. g., घरै by a house for \*घरहिं<sup>1</sup>). Also E. H.

1) This explains why the M. instr. in एं is seldom used except with the postpositions करून् or कइन् (Man. 28, note 1); for it is really a gen.

and W. H. occasionally have it, in the contr. form ऐ or ए, in the loc. sing.; as पाइँ or पाहँ *behind, after* for \*पच्छहिं (see § 77, exc.). Again the suff. हुं (or term. अहुं) which in Ap. Pr. expresses the abl. and loc. plur. (H. C. 4, 340), is used in S. for the abl. sg. in the forms अउँ or ओँ or उँ (Tr. 118), in P. for the abl. or, occasionally, loc. sg. in the form ओँ (Ld. 12, 37), and in W. H. for the loc. sg. in the form उ; thus S. घरउँ or घरौँ or घरँ, P. घरौँ *from a house*, or P. पाहौँ, W. H. पाहू *behind, after*, for \*घरहुं, \*पच्छहुं. Again the suff. इं (or termin. अइं), which in the Ap. expresses the abl. and loc. plur. (see Nro. 2), is used in M. for the loc. both of the sing. and plur. in the contr. form अं (Man. 17, 45. 27, 66. 28, 2); e. g., घरँ *in a house* or *in houses*, for \*घरइं; also occasionally in E. H. and W. H.; e. g., E. H. इहाँ, W. H. यहाँ *here*, lit. *in this, scl. place*, for \*एइइं (Skr. ईदृष्टे); in S. it forms the abl. sing. (Tr. 117, 5); e. g., घरँ *from a house*, मंकाँ *from within*, for \*मत्तहिं. Lastly the Mg. Pr. gen. plur. suff. आहँ (H. C. 4, 300) is used in E. H. for the obl. sing.; thus घोउआँ (कै of) *a horse*, for Mg. घोउआहँ; see § 365, 4. — 6) The gen. sg. suff. हो and हे are also used in Ap. Pr. and Gd. to express the nom. and voc. sg. or pl.; see § 369.

368. *Origin of the gen. or obl. suffixes.* 1) The Skr. gen. sg. suff. स्य becomes in Pr. स्स (Vr. 5, 8) according to the usual phonetic laws (Ls. 274. 275; see §§ 150. 137). But though स्स is the common form, yet in the pronouns Pr. already shows a tendency to reduce it to स and to lengthen the preceding vowel (see § 150, 2); e. g., gen. masc. कास = कस्स *of whom* (Vr. 6, 5. H. C. 3, 64); neut. कीस *why* = \*किसस् (Ls. 326); fem. कीसे = \*किसिस् (Vr. 6, 6. H. C. 3, 64). In Gd. this process is extended to all gen.; including those of nouns, as may be seen in M. (see § 365, 1); in Br. the two pronom. gen. तास *of which*, तास *of him* (Kl. 122. 133) are its only relics. Besides स्स (K. I. 30 in Ls. 451)

or obl. form, and as such naturally takes a postposition; see § 366, 1; if it were, as commonly supposed, identical with the old Skr. instr. in एन, the addition of the postpos. would be very superfluous and anomalous.

the Ap. Pr. has स्तु or सु; in the latter case with or without the lengthening of the preceding vowel (H. C. 4, 338. 358. K. I. 30); though it is not clear, how the final उ arose. Traces of this Ap. form have survived in the O. H. and Br. pronom. gen. तामु, तामु; e. g., तामु किन्नी चंद कहिय of *him the glory Chand has told* (Chand 1, 46 in Bs. II, 316, see Kl. 122. 133). The O. W. H. of Chand has occasionally nominal gen. in अस (perhaps = Ap. असु); e. g., पुत्री वरी उतेन दिसि । पहिलै पंगस पुन ॥ i. e., *a daughter has married in Ujainland, first the son of Panga* (25, 22). The O. P. of the Granth appears to have a gen. in असि (Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI). — 2) The Skr. स्य, however, also changes in Pr. to ह or हि, with the lengthening of the preceding vowel (cf. Ls. 398); the conj. स्य becoming ह, as in the fut. suff. हामि, हिइ for स्यामि, स्यति (Vr. 7, 12. 13), and the vowel being lengthened by way of compensation. The form ह is limited to the Mg. Pr. (Vr. 11, 12), and हि to the abl. case (Vr. 5, 6), which is identical with the gen.<sup>1</sup>). Thus Pr. abl. वच्छहि from a calf (lit. gen. of a calf), Mg. Pr. gen. वच्छाह of a calf, Pr. गिरीहि from a mountain, गुरुहि from a teacher (H. C. 3, 124). The Ap. Pr. gen. suff. हे is, probably, an other modification of the Skr. स्य (cf. Ls. 462), which, because of its final ए being heavy, does not lengthen the preceding vowel; as वच्छहे, गिरिहे, गुरुहे<sup>2</sup>). In O. Gd. it is shortened to हि (as वच्छहि, गिरिहि, गुरुहि), the gen. character of which is shown by its being especially used for the dat. (= old gen., see examples in §§ 365, 6. 267, 4) or generally for the obl. in connexion with case-aff. which require the gen. (see § 366, 1. b). In that particular kind of Apabhramṣa (probably Gujarātī or Marwārī) which is treated by H. C. 4, 350, this shortened obl. or gen. suff. हि was, in the case of masc. and neut. nouns, confined to the loc. sing., probably because the alternative gen. suff. हो or हु (see Nro. 3) were used in the gen.

1) It may be observed that even in Skr. the abl. takes the gen. suff. असु in the case of all bases, exc. those in अ.

2) Exceptionally the vowel is lengthened in Mh. Pr., e. g., एताहे from *that* (H. C. 3, 82), but Ap. Pr. एताहे (H. C. 4, 420) = Skr. इतः or एततः.

(incl. dat. and abl.). — 3) There is an other Ap. Pr. gen. suff. हो or shortened हु (H. C. 4, 336, 338)<sup>1)</sup>, which, however, has no connection with the Skr. स्य. Its origin is obscure. Ls. 462 identifies it with \*an assumed Skr. suff. स्व. It seems more probably to be identical with the Skr. abl. plur. suff. भ्यस्, which in Pr. would regularly change to भ्यो or हो (cf. Pr. त्रीहा or त्रिभा *tongue* in H. C. 2, 57 and § 120) and easily serve as a gen. suff. also. In the Ap. of H. C. 4, 351 हु actually occurs as an abl. and gen. plur. suff. The change of „number“ would be analogous to that in the case of the Pr. abl. pl. suff. हितो which is used in the sing. also (see H. C. 3, 8. 9, see also § 367, 5). — 4) The Skr. gen. plur. suff. नाम् becomes in Pr. पां or पा (Vr. 5, 4) with the lengthening of the preceding vowel; as Skr. वत्सानाम्, Pr. वच्छापां *of calfs*. This form has survived in M., E. H., Br. and S., see § 365, 4. — 5) The Skr. gen. pl. suff. नाम्, however, also changes in Pr. to पंहं or पह्, हं and हँ, the last with, the former two without the lengthening of the preceding vowel. The process is quite regular; a) Skr. न् is doubled, and the preceding long vowel shortened, as in Pr. वषू = Skr. स्यापुः, Pr. तुपिहक्को = Skr. तूष्णीकः, Pr. युल्लो = Skr. स्यूलः, etc.\* (H. C. 2, 99, see Ls. 143. 276); b) the Pr. स् is changed to पह् (see § 161 and Ls. 271); c) Pr. पह् *nha* is changed to हं *ham* (projecting the *anusvāra*, for *nha*), or to हँ, prolonging, in the latter case, the preceding vowel, to compensate for the loss of the *anusvāra* (see §§ 143. 149). Thus, e. g., Skr. °आनाम् is in Pr. \*अहं = अहं = आहँ. The form पंहं is added in Pr. to numerals only, as पंचपहं *of five* = Skr. पञ्चानाम् (H. C. 3, 123), and exceptionally to pronouns, as कइपहं *of how many* = Skr. कतीनाम् (H. C. 3, 123). The form हँ is added also to nouns, especially in Mg. Pr. (H. C. 4, 300). The form हं is used only in the Ap. Pr. (H. C. 4, 339). In Gd. all three forms are used

1) Observe that in the Ap. of H. C. the gen. suff. हो (H. C. 4, 338) becomes हु when used for the abl. (H. C. 4, 336); just as the gen. suff. हे (H. C. 4, 350) becomes हि when used for the loc. (H. C. 4, 352).

with nouns (see § 365, 4. 7); though ऋ or ॠ is limited to E. H., Br. and S. — 6) There is also an Ap. Pr. gen. pl. suff. हुं (H. C. 4, 340), the origin of which is obscure. Ls. 463, 11 derives it from the Pr. abl. pl. suff. सुन्तो (Vr. 5, 7). It may possibly be identical with the Ap. Pr. gen. and abl. suff. हु (see Nro. 3), to which, being both plur. and sing., perhaps an inorganic *anusvāra* was added, to distinguish better its plur. character by making a pair हु, हुं analogous to the other two pairs of Ap. suff., sg. ह, pl. हं, and sg. हि, pl. हिं. — 7) There is, lastly, an Ap. plur. suff. हिं (H. C. 4, 347) or हे (K. I. 32 in Ls. 451). Ls. 310, 3 identifies it with the Skr. pl. instr. suff. भिस्. It is more probably identical with the Skr. abl. suff. भ्याम्<sup>1</sup>), which would regularly change in Pr. to हे<sup>2</sup> or हिं (for षे<sup>3</sup> or षिं), and easily come to be used in the Ap. Pr. for the gen. (K. I. 32) and instr. or loc. (H. C. 4, 347) of the plur. Its gen. character is shown by its being still used in O. Gd. for the dat. (= old gen., see examples in §§ 365, 7. 367, 2. 5), and in S. for the act. (= old instr.) and obl. generally; thus O. H. dat. नरहिं *to men*, S. act. नरे<sup>4</sup> *by men* or obl. नरे<sup>5</sup> खे *to men*.

369. *Derivation of the direct terminations.* 1) A comparison of the various Gd. terminations of the obl. sing. and plur. with those of the dir. or nom. plur. will show at once that the latter are always identical with the former. Sometimes it is some obl. form of the sg., sometimes (apparently) of the pl.; again sometimes it is an obl. form of the same Gd., sometimes of an other, which is thus used for the nom. plur.; but in every case it is *some one* obl. form. To this rule the M. fem. and neut. nouns form the only exception. For example compare the following weak forms: a) *masc.*, the S. nom. pl. जन *men* with the S. obl. sg. जन *man* (nom. sg. जनु), and the E. H. nom. pl. जने (§ 361, exc.)

1) Even in Skr. the suff. भ्याम् is used for the instr. and dat. also, similarly the pl. abl. suff. भ्यस् for the dat. and, in the modified form भिस्, for the instr.; there is also a dat. sg. suff. भ्यम् in Skr., as तुभ्यम् *to thee*. — If हुं be rightly identified with सुन्तो, हिं might be derived from the Pr. abl. pl. suff. हितो (Vr. 5, 7).

with the B. obl. sg. तने; b) *fem.*, the Br. nom. pl. तीमै<sup>१</sup> or तीमे<sup>१</sup> *tongues* with the S. obl. pl. तिमे<sup>१</sup>; the Mw., P. and S. nom. pl. तीमै<sup>१</sup> or तिमै<sup>१</sup> with the S. obl. pl. तिमै<sup>१</sup>; the S. nom. pl. तिभू<sup>१</sup> with the abl. sg. (really<sup>१</sup> obl. pl., § 367, 5) तिभू<sup>१</sup>; the W. H., P. nom. pl. भित्तिवै<sup>१</sup> *walls* with the S. obl. pl. भित्तिवै<sup>१</sup>; the S. nom. pl. भित्ति<sup>१</sup> with the S. abl. sg. (really<sup>१</sup> obl. pl.) भित्ति<sup>१</sup> (or भित्ति<sup>१</sup>), etc. Again strong forms: a) *masc.*, P., H. H., M. nom. pl. घोडे *horses* with the P., H. H. and S. obl. sg. घोडे; the B., O., E. H., W. H., S., G. nom. pl. घोडा *horses* with the B., O., E. H., W. H., G. obl. sg. घोडा; b) *neut.*, the G. nom. pl. सोनै<sup>१</sup> *goldpieces* with the G. obl. sg. सोनै<sup>१</sup>; c) *fem.*, the W. H. and P. nom. pl. घोडियै<sup>१</sup> *mares* with the S. obl. pl. घोडियै<sup>१</sup>; the S. nom. pl. घोडि<sup>१</sup> with the S. abl. sg. (really<sup>१</sup> obl. pl.) घोडि<sup>१</sup>; the W. H. nom. pl. पोथी<sup>१</sup> *books* (Kl. 64, 130) with the P. loc. pl. पोथी<sup>१</sup> *in books*<sup>१</sup>); the W. H. and P. nom. pl. सासुअरै<sup>१</sup> *mothers-in-law* with the S. obl. pl. सासुअरै<sup>१</sup>, etc. It will be observed, that in the case of fem. nouns the dir. pl. is identical with the obl. pl., but in the case of masc. and neut. it is the same as the obl. sg. The difference, however, is probably in appearance only. For, no doubt, the pl. obl. forms when employed as dir. pl. are used as sing., just as in the S. abl. and M. loc. (see § 367, 5). There can be no doubt, that these so-called nom. plur. forms are *elliptic* phrases, which must be filled up by supplying some collective noun, as लोग *people*, गन *troup*, etc. The E. H. practice of forming the plur. by the addition of such a collective noun, illustrates this theory (§ 361). Such nouns would require the principal word to be in the *gen.* case; and this explains the use of the obl. form, which is the same as the old *gen.* (§ 366). In B. it is actually the *gen.* sg. (not merely the obl. f.), which is used to form the plur.; e. g., B. obl. f. देवे, *gen.* sg. देवे-र *of a god*, nom. pl. देवे-र *gods*; here र is merely the strong form of र; see § 364, 2. Similarly in N. the plur. is an archaic form of the *gen.* sg., composed of the

1) The form पोथी<sup>१</sup>, both in the nom. and loc. pl., is a contraction, for पोथि<sup>१</sup> = Ap. पोथिअहि.



gen.-affix *र* (for *कृ* or *के*, § 377) and the O. Gd. gen. sg. in *हे* or *ह* (§ 365, 6). Thus O. Gd. gen. or obl. sg. *देवहे* or *देवह*, N. nom. pl. *देवहे-र* or *देवह-र* *gods*; see also § 364, 3. Thus the H. H., P. or S. nom. pl. *घोडे* *horses* is really as much as Ap. Pr. *घोडअहे* scl. गणु = Skr. *घोटकस्य गणाः*, lit. *a troop of horse*. The nom. pl. of nouns in *इ*, *उ*, *ई*, *ऊ* is, of course, of the same character; though it does not come out so strikingly. — 2) The obl. sg. is sometimes even used to form the nom. sing. Thus always in the long forms: e.g., E. H. nom. sg. *रमवा* or *रमवाँ*, M. *राम्या* (for \**रामया*) *Rāma* = obl. form E. H. *रमवा* or *रमवाँ*, M. *राम्या* = A. Mg. or Dk. Pr. gen. sg. *रामआह* or pl. *रामआहँ* (see § 365, 1. 4)<sup>1</sup>). But sometimes also in masc. short forms; viz. in B. weak forms in *अ*, and B., P., Br. and H. H. strong forms in *आ*. Thus in B. the nom. sg. may be *देवे* *a god*, *घोडाय्* *a horse* (for the usual *देव*, *घोडा*), both obl. forms = O. Gd. gen. sg. *देवहि*, *घोडाहि* (§ 365, 6); see S. Ch. 56, where these nom. are described as loc. Again P. or Br. or H. H. nom. sg. *घोडा* *a horse* = O. Gd. gen. or obl. sg. *घोडाह* or *घोडअह*, Ap. Pr. *घोडअहो*. With these exceptions, the nom. sg. of short forms in all Gds. is simply a modified form of the Pr. nom. sg., as explained in §§ 40—54. Thus S., G., Mw. *घोडे*, Br. *घोडे* = Ap. Pr. nom. sg. *घोडउ*, Pr. *घोडओ*; E. H., B., O., M. *घोडा* = Mg. Pr. nom. sg. *घोडअ* or *घोडइ* or *घोडए* (Vr. 11, 10) = Skr. *घोटकः*; again E. H., B., O., M. *देव* *a god* = Mg. Pr. nom. sg. *देव* or *देवि* or *देवे*; W. H., P., G., N. *देव* or S., O. W. H., O. P. *देवु* = Ap. Pr. nom. sg. *देवु*, Pr. *देवो*, Skr. *देवः*. — 3) The nom. pl. of fem. and neut. nouns in M. is identical with the old Pr. nom. pl. The suff. of the nom. pl. neut. is in Pr. *इं* (Vr. 5, 26 = Skr. *नि*), before which the final vowel of the base is lengthened; in the Ap. Pr. it is also *इं*, but without lengthening the preceding vowel. (H. C. 4, 353). Hence the termin. are in Mh. Pr. *आइं*, *ईइं*, *ऊइं*, in Ap. Pr. *अइं*, *इइं*, *उइं*, or with strong bases *अअइं*, *इअइं*, *उअइं*. These be-

1) Not = Mg. Pr. nom. sg. *रामए*; for *ए* could not well become *आ*; and it would not account for the final *anunāsika* in E. H.

come in M. ऐं (इइं and उइं *desunt*) or, with strong bases, ऐं or ईं, येँ, वेँ. Thus M. घरेँ houses, Ap. घरइं, Pr. घराइं, Skr. गृहाणि; M. वाँसरेँ calves, Ap. वच्छइं, Skr. वैत्सं; M. केलीं plantains, Ap. केलइं, Pr. कयलइं (H. C. 1, 167), Skr. कदरकाणि; M. मोत्येँ pearls, Ap. मोत्तिइं, Pr. मोत्तिइं, Skr. मौक्तिकानि; M. अँसेँ (or अँसेवेँ), Ap. अँसुइं, Pr. अँसुइं, Skr. अँसुकाणि. — 4) The suff. of the nom. plur. fem. is in Pr. ओ or उ or may be dropped altogether (Vr. 5, 19. 20); so also in the Ap. Pr. (H. C. 4, 344. 348). Thus M. तौभा tongues (nom. pl. of तौम), Pr. त्रिभा or त्रिभाउ or त्रिभाओ, Skr. त्रिङ्गाः; or M. घोड्या mares, Pr. घोडिआ or घोडिआउ or घोडिआओ, Skr. घोडिकाः; or M. सासुा (or सासवा) mothers-in-law, Pr. सासुआ or सासुआउ or सासुआओ, Skr. श्वश्रुकाः. — 5) The use of the gen. sg. (or obl. form) for the nom. sg. or pl. is expressly taught by Md. for the Ap. Pr. As this is a point of some importance, I will quote his rules on the subject. They are: a) उत्सुमोः ॥ सुमोहृत् स्यात् ॥ चन्दु । राउ । अगित । महुउ, etc. (cf. H. C. 4, 331), i. e., *a*-bases have *u* in the nom. and acc. sg., as *moon, king, fire, honey*; b) होच ॥ सुमोरु हो च स्यात् ॥ हकखहो ॥ i. e., they have also *ho* (gen. suff., see H. C. 4, 338) in the nom. and acc. sg., as *tree*; c) सौ पुंस् अत ओ कुचित् ॥ सप्पो ॥ i. e., masc. *a*-bases, have sometimes *o* (cf. H. C. 4, 332), as *serpent*; d) तसो हे च ॥ हकखहे । वालाहे ॥ *a*-bases have also *हे* (gen. suff., see H. C. 4, 350) in the nom. plur., as *trees, girls*; e) स्त्रियाम् उच् च तप्रसोः ॥ वालाउ ॥ चकाराद् वालाहे ॥ i. e., fem. *a*-bases have *u* (cf. H. C. 4, 348) or *हे* in the nom. and acc. plur., as *girls*; f) इं नपुंसके दीर्घो वा ॥ नपुंसके तप्रसोरु इं स्यात् ॥ प्राग् दीर्घो वा ॥ वणाइं । वणाइं ॥ मुहुइं । मुहुइं ॥ i. e., neut. bases have *im* in the nom. acc. pl., and the preceding vowel may be long, as *woods, honeys*. — 6) It may be further observed, that the voc. sg. and pl. throughout the Gds. is identical with some one Gd. form of the obl. sg. or nom. pl. Thus in *masc.*; E. H. obl. sg., voc. sg., nom. pl. alike घोडा (*of a*) horse, oh horse, or horses; H. H. and P. obl. sg., voc. sg. and nom. pl. alike घोडे; voc. pl. H. H. घोडे, P. घोडिउ (= \*घोडयु or \*घोडउ); S. nom. pl. and voc. sg. घोडा, voc. pl. घोडा or घोडउ or घोडे; G. obl. sg. and voc. sg. घोडा, nom. pl. and voc. pl. घोडाउ or घोडाव् (or घोडाओ); M. obl. sg. घोड्या,

nom. pl. घोडे, voc. sg. घोड्या or घोडे. So also in fem. nouns<sup>1)</sup>. The identity of the voc. sg. and pl. with the obl. sg. and nom. pl. is expressly taught by Pr. Gramm., who ascribe the two suff. of the gen. sg. हो and हे to the voc. Thus Md. states: सम्बुद्धो सौ हे च ॥ स्त्रियाम् इत्य् एव ॥ बालाहे । पाइहे ॥ चकारान् महाराष्ट्रीञ्च च ॥ i. e., the voc. sg. of fem. only takes *he*. The Mh. Pr. forms would be बाले, पाइ. The latter forms alone are enjoined by K. I. 17, 18 (in Ls. 450), who does not identify them with the Mh. Pr. forms. In this he is correct; for बाले is a mere contraction for बालहे or बालहि; and पाइ has dropped the suff. हे or ह, just as in the obl. or gen. sg. (cf. H. C. 4, 345). The form ए is preserved in P. fem. nouns; as जिमे *oh tongue*, मावे *oh mother*, पोए *oh daughter*; but also extended to masc. sg.; as घोडे *oh horse*, and to masc. pl., as देवे *oh gods*. Again Md. continues: त्रिषु हो तसः ॥ त्रिषु तसो हो स्यात् ॥ ह्क्वहो । वपाहो । पाइहो ॥ i. e., the voc. pl. of all bases in *a*, *i*, *u* takes *ho*. So also H. C. 4, 346 and K. I. 29 (in Ls. 450). In M. Gd. the suff. हो becomes उ (for हु) or अ (for ह), which are contracted with *a* preceding अ to ओ or आ respectively; e. g., P. voc. pl. घोडीउ *oh mares* = घोडिअहु (with ई for इअ) = Ap. घोडिअहो; or S. नरो or नरा *oh men* for \*नरउ or \*नरअ = \*नरहु or \*नरह, Ap. पारहो. Gd. extends the contr. form आ even to the sing.; e. g., P. voc. sg. देवा *oh god*, but voc. pl. देवे *oh gods*; the former being derived from Ap. देवहो, the latter from Ap. देवहे. Indeed, as such it is noticed by K. I. 26 (in Ls. 450) as already occurring in the Ap. Pr. The general result seems to be, that in the Ap. Pr. both हे and हो or its modifications are used to form both the voc. sing. and the voc. pl. of all bases in *a*, *i*, *u* whether masc., fem. or neut.

#### 4. CASE.

370. There are seven cases, viz. nominative (incl. vocative), accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive and locative.

1) Exceptionally, the voc. pl. is the same as the obl. pl.; e. g., Mw. nom. pl. and voc. pl. घोडाँ *oh horses* or (*of*) *horses*.

The nom. serves also as the voc., and in that case some interjection, as हे, रे or अरे, is generally prefixed; e. g., nom. राम् *Rāma*, voc. हे राम् *oh! Rāma*; nom. बेटा, voc. अरे बेटा *oh! son*; nom. दुर्गा, voc. रे दुर्गा *oh! Durgā*, etc. The E. H. has no (eighth) case of the „agent“, or (as I shall call it) *active case*.

371. *The active case.* The absence of the act. case in E. H. is a point of great importance, as it helps to determine its affiliation or position with regard to the other Gd. languages. This case is one of the main features that distinguish the W. and S. Gds. from the E. Gds. The latter are without it; the former possess it. E. H., therefore, as not having the act. case, belongs to the E. Gd. group, and is more nearly allied to B. and O., than to W. H. — The rationale of the act. case is as follows. The old organic past tenses active of the Skr., mostly very complicated forms, were in Pr. already disused (cf. Wb. Spt. 63) with a few fragmentary and rare exceptions (cf. Vr. 7, 23. 24. H. C. 3, 162. 163). The inconvenience of this want was obviated by the simple expedient of giving to the sentence the passive construction; thereby turning the subject or nom. case into the instr. case and the past tense act. into the past part. pass. This method of expressing the past act. was already much used in Skr.; and in Pr. it has become the common one; thus „they have not devoured that“ may be in Skr. ते एतद् न खाचेः or in pass. constr. तैर् एतद् अनाचीर्णम्; but in Pr. only the latter तेहिं एअं अणाइअं (cf. H. C. 3, 134). But there is yet a simpler way of using the pass. constr.; viz., by employing the past part. pass. in an *act. sense*, whereby the change of the nom. case into the instr. in the subj. becomes unnecessary. This practise may have originated from the use of the past part. pass. of intrans. verbs in an *act. sense*, which is very common in Skr.; as अहं गतः *I went* for अहं गगाम. In Pr. it is already found occasionally extended to trans. verbs (cf. Gl. in J. G. O. S. XXVII, 492), as *Setub. 6, 51* आढना दीसिउं पिसिअर्च्छाआ *the shadows of the night-walkers began to be seen* (Skr. निशित्तरच्छाया दृष्टम् आरब्धाः), and intrans., *ibid. 8, 30* दीसिउं पउअं

सेउबधस्स मुहुं *the head of the bridge began to be seen*, or *ibid.* 7, 71  
 वेप्पिउं यउत्ता पवंगा *the monkeys began to be taken*, etc. Now of these  
 two methods of using the past part. pass. to supply the past  
 tense act., the former, i. e., *the real pass. constr. with the subj. in  
 the instr. case*, was adopted by the W. and S. Gds., while the  
 other, i. e., (what I may call) *the pass-act. constr. with the subj.  
 in the nom. case*, was chosen by the E. and N. Gds., and, of  
 course, these latter make the past part. pass. to agree in number  
 and gender with the subj. Thus „*they have not eaten that*“ is in  
 E. H. ईलोग् उ न खेलेन्, in W. H. इन्हो ने व्ह न खायौ. Here खेलेन्  
 is the 3<sup>d</sup> plur. masc. 2<sup>nd</sup> pret. (formed from the past part. pass.  
 खैस् or खायल्, see § 307), agreeing with the nom. ईलोग् and  
 governing the acc. उ; while खायौ is the nom. sg. masc. (of the  
 past part. pass. खायौ) agreeing with व्ह and governed by the  
 instr. or rather act. इन्हो ने. — It has been stated already  
 (§ 366, 1. d) that the tendency of the later Pr. was to substi-  
 tute the gen. for every other case. Thus the example of the  
 gen. in the place of the instr., given by H. C. 3, 134, is तेसिं  
 एयं अणाइणं, where तेसिं is the gen. plur. (= Skr. तेषाम्) for the  
 instr. तेहिं (= Skr. तेषिः)<sup>1</sup>). It has also been stated (*ibid.*) that  
 this Pr. tendency has become in Gd. an absolute law, and also, that  
 the Gd. so-called obl. form is identical with the old Pr. gen.  
 Hence, as regards the W. Gd. and S. Gd., their method of ex-  
 pressing the past tense act. by means of the *real pass. constr.  
 with the subj. in the instr. case*, may now be stated thus, that  
 they express it by means of the *past part. pass. with the subj.  
 in the obl. form* (= old gen.-instr.). Now there is every reason  
 to believe, that this was once the universal usage in the whole  
 of the W. and S. Gd.; that is, that in the pass. „constr.“ the  
 mere obl. form was used without the addition of any affix (ने or

1) His other examples are: धपास्स लढो for धपोपा लढो *acquired with  
 money*, or चिरेस्स मुक्का for चिरेपा मुक्का *long delivered*; here the gen.-instr.  
 has not the sense of the act.

ने"). Thus in the O. H. (of Chand, Kabir, Behári Lál, etc.) the aff. never or very rarely occurs<sup>1</sup>). In O. S. it cannot have been used; for it does not exist even in the M. S. Nor was it used in O. P. (see Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI); nor, as far as I can ascertain, in O. M. (see Man. 138) and O. G. Even in the modern S. (Tr. 113, 3) and Mw. (Kl. 66, 132. a) it is always omitted; also, as a rule, in G. (Ed. 87) and not, unfrequently, in Br. (Kl. 287, 543) and P. (Ld. 7, 22. 73, 119). Indeed, it may be said to be really confined to the literary forms of the Gd. languages and, therefore, to be comparatively modern. Such, at all events, is the case with Hindí, where it is confined to the H. H. (or Urdu) and originated at the same time with the literary cultivation of the language. The latter took place in the sixteenth century around the centre of the Moghul empire in Western Hindústán. In the low dialects of those parts the following dat. aff. are in use, G. ने, Mw. ने, P. ने; and it so happens that in G. the same aff. ने is also used as an aff. of the act. case in the pass. constr. It may be concluded, therefore, that the founders of the H. H. adopted what they found current as a dat. aff. in their regions, for the act. case also. It should be remembered, that the mere obl. f. which originally was the act. case was often outwardly not to be distinguished from the nom. This was too inconvenient for a literary language which necessarily aims at grammatical precision. Seeing, then, two dat. aff. current in different parts of their neighbourhood (viz., को or को in Br., ने or ने in Mw.) they assumed one (ने) for the act., while they reserved the other (को) for the dat.; and thus, as will be seen, any confusion between the act. and the dat. in H. H. was avoided. Possibly, the dat. aff. ने was already employed in some cases, by the common people (as in G.) to signify the act., and thus a precedent was

1) It must be remembered, that in many cases the obl. f. happens not to differ from the dir. or nom.; thus in Pr. R. 1, 49 (in Bs. II, 267) दुन and रान are not nom., but obl. f., just as तिन and त्रिहि in the other cited verses.

afforded. The choice of the dat. aff. to supply an affix of the act. must have been felt to be natural; for it has merely the general sense of „referring to“. An affix, having such a vague and general meaning, might well be employed to express any relation in which a noun may stand in a sentence. — This theory of the identity of the act. aff. with that of the dat., with which I entirely agree, was, I believe, first propounded by Beames (II, 270). The common theory of its identity with the Skr. instr. termin. एन or न् can hardly be seriously maintained, and has been well refuted by the same writer (ibid. 266). — It should be mentioned, that G. and Mw. employ a special obl. f. in ए or ऐ for the act. case sing., their general obl. f. ending in ञ्, see § 366, 2; while S. uses its general obl. f. for the act. case also. — The various act. case-aff. are: H. H. ने, Br. ने, M. sg. ने or pl. नी, P. नै, G. ने or णे, N. ले. The aff. यो in G. and ही, सो or श्री in M. do not belong to the act., but to the instr. or abl., just as से in E. H. (see §§ 372. 376). — N. alone has the curious anomaly of using the act. case with ले together with the act.-pass. constr.; i. e., of constructing the subj. like the W. Gds., but the verb like the E. Gds. (see § 487). ◌

*Note:* On the derivation of the act.-dat. affixes see § 375.

372. All cases, exc. the nom. and acc. (*proper*) are formed by adding to the obl. form of the noun certain affixes which are the same for both numbers. These are the following: instr. or abl. से *by, with* or *from*; dat. के *to*, gen. कै, के or कर, करे *of*, loc. मे *in*. The acc. proper is identical with the nom.; but commonly, as in all Gds., the dat. is substituted for the acc. See paradigms in § 379.

*Note:* The following aff. are also sometimes used: dat. कहं, abl. सो or सेन or ते or थो, loc. मे or म or माँ or माँक or माँही.

373. For the gen., there are two sets of aff.: 1) कै and के, 2) कर and करे. Of these two sets, nouns (i. e., subst., adj., and numer.) may affix only the former (कै, के), while pron. may

take either pair at pleasure. Of the two members of each pair the former (कै, करू) are used when the governing word is in the nom. or acc. proper; the latter (के, करे) when it is in any obl. case. The number and gender of the governing word make no difference in this respect. Thus घरू कै सामी आवत् बा *the master of the house is coming*; घरू के सामी से कहह *tell ye the master of the house*; घरू कै लोग आवत् बाटै *the people of the house are coming*; घरू के तिरियालोगन के बुलावह *call ye the women of the house*. Again ई ओकरू or ओकै घरू बाटै *this is his house*; उ ए करे or ए के घरू मे बाटै *he is in his house*; उ ए करू or ए कै पोथी बाटै *those are his books*; उ एकरे or एके पोथी मे पढैला *he reads in his book*.

374. *Affinitics*. Besides the want of the act. case (§ 370), E. H. shows its affinity to E. Gd., as against W. Gd., also in the government of the gen. aff. In the W. Gd. the form of the aff. changes not only with the case, but also with the number and gender of the governing word; it is for the *nom. sg. masc.* Br. कौ, H. H. का, Kn. को, Mw. रो, G. नो, P. दा, S. तो; *obl. sg. masc.* Br., H. H., Kn. के, Mw. रा or रै, G. ना, P. दे, S. ते; *nom. sg. neut.* G. नुँ; *obl. sg. neut.* G. नाँ; *nom. sg. fem.* Br., H. H., Kn. की, Mw. री, G. नी, P. दी, S. तो; *obl. sg. fem.* Br., H. H., Kn. की, Mw. री, G. नी, P. दी, S. ते or तिस्र; *nom. pl. masc.* Br., H. H., Kn. के, Mw. रा, G. ना or नाव, P. दे, S. ता; *obl. pl. masc.* Br., H. H., Kn. के, Mw. रा, G. ना or नाव, P. दे or दिस्र, S. ते or तनि; *nom. pl. neut.* G. नाँ or नाँव, *obl. dlo.*; *nom. pl. fem.* Br., H. H., Kn. की, Mw. री, G. नीउ, P. दीस्र, S. झूँ or त्रिऊँ; *obl. pl. fem.* Br., H. H., Kn. की, Mw. री, G. नीउ, P. दीस्र, S. ते or त्रिनि or त्रुनि or त्रिस्रनि or त्रिउनि (see Ld. 7. Tr. 129). The S. Gd. and N. Gd. follow the W. Gd. practice; thus *nom. sg. masc.* M. चा, N. को, *obl. M. चे or च्या*, N. का; *nom. sg. neut.* M. चे, *obl. चे or च्या*; *nom. sg. fem.* M. चो, N. की, *obl. M. चे or च्या*, N. की; *nom. pl. masc.* M. चे, N. का, *obl. M. चे or च्या*, N. का; *nom. pl. neut.* M. ची, *obl. चे or च्या*; *nom. pl. fem.* M. च्या, N. की, *obl. M. चे or च्या*, N. की (see M. 27. 41). On the other hand, in B. and O. the form of the gen. aff. never changes; not even, as in E. H., with



the case. — The case-aff. have a great variety of forms in the different Gds.; they are exhibited in the subjoined table.

	B.	O.	E. H.	H. H.	Br.	Mw.
dat. acc.	के	कु or कि	के	को	कौ	नै
abl. instr.	हइते	रु, कर्	से	से	सौ	सूँ
gen.	रु	रु, कर्	कै, कर्	का	कौ	रो
loc.	ते	रे, कर्	मे	मे	मे	माँ
act.	—	—	—	ने	ने	obl.

  

	G.	P.	S.	M.	N.
dat. acc.	ने	नूँ	खे	ला	लार्इ
abl. instr.	थो	ते	खौ, खौ	सी, ही, हून्, ऊन्	संग
gen.	नो	दा	तो	चा	को
loc.	माँ	मै	मे	तू	मा
act.	obl. or ने	नै	obl.	ने	ले

Besides these affixes which are allotted to particular cases, there is a large number of others, which are used to modify the noun in various senses which may, in a general way, be referred to the dat., abl. or loc. These may be divided into two classes, according as they are or are not added to the obl. form of the noun by means of the gen. aff. In the former case, I shall call them *postpositions*, in the latter, *affixes*. Many of them, however, belong to both classes, sometimes in the same, sometimes in different languages; e. g., E. H. बदे is a postpos. in के कर् बदे *what for*, but an aff. in केहू बदे *what for*; again लये or लिये is a postpos. in E. H., W. H. घर के लये or लिये *for the sake of the house*, but an aff. in S. घर लइ (Tr. 404). The following list contains most of these aff. or postpos.; their meanings (indicated by numbers) generally are; *for* or *to* 1, *till* or *up to* 2, *with* 3, *by* 4, *from* 5, *in* or *at* 6. Thus a) (Skr. लग्), B. लागत् or O. B. लागि, E. H. लग्, लगि 2, W. H. लागि 1, S. लगे or लगि 1, G. लगी 1, M. लागौ or लागनि 1, N. लागी 1; b) (Skr. लब्ध), E. H. लिये 1, W. H.

लये or लए or लये<sup>०</sup> or लौ<sup>०</sup> or लो<sup>०</sup> 2, P. लई 1, S. लाइ or लइ 1, G. लोथे 1, M. ला 1, N. लाई 1; c) (Skr. स्थान), B. ठाई<sup>०</sup> 1, थेके 5, O. ठा-रे 1, ठा-रू or ठुं or ठाउं 5, E. H. थो<sup>०</sup> 5, W. H. थो<sup>०</sup> 5, G. थो 5, P. थो<sup>०</sup> or थो<sup>०</sup> ५r O. P. थावहु or थो or थो<sup>०</sup> 5, ठाइ or थानि 1, N. थाजि 5 or 6, M. ठाई<sup>०</sup> 6; d) (Skr. कर्ण), W. H. कने or कनै or कानी or कणि 1, P. कनी 1, G. काने 1, S. कापो or काणि or कने or कनि 1, कनॉ or कनो<sup>०</sup> 5; e) (Skr. पक्ष), B. पक्षे or पाके, E. H. पाही<sup>०</sup>, W. H. पै, P. पाहो<sup>०</sup> 5; f) (Skr. कक्ष), B. काछे or के 1, O. कु or कि 1, E. H. के or कँह 1, Br. को<sup>०</sup> 1, H. H. को 1, O. H. कंह or कहुं or कहुं or काहुं 1, O. P. कह or कहु or कउ or को or कू or कू<sup>०</sup> 1, S. खे 1 or खौ<sup>०</sup> or खो<sup>०</sup> 5; g) (Skr. तरित?), B. तक् 2, ते 6, E. H. तक् 2, ते 5, W. H. तक् or तलक् or ताई or तई<sup>०</sup> 2, ते or ते<sup>०</sup> 5, P. ताई<sup>०</sup> or तोकु or तोकुर or तेगे 2, ते or उतो<sup>०</sup> or उता<sup>०</sup> 5, S. ताई or तोई<sup>०</sup> or तोगे or तोपो 2, ताँ or तो<sup>०</sup> 5, ते 6; h) (Skr. वार्त), E. H. बाट 1, S. वटे 1, बाटॉ 5, G. वते 1, N. बाट 5; i) (Skr. वर), E. H. वरे 1, M. वरल्ल 5; k) (Skr. कार्य), E. H. कान् 1, O. H. कात्र 1; l) (Skr. कृत), S. करे or करि 1, M. करल्ल 5, करिताँ 1; m) (Skr. अर्थ), M. छाठी<sup>०</sup>; n) (Skr. सङ्ग), B. सने 3, E. H. सन् or सने or सन् or सेनी 3, W. H. सणि 1, P. सणे 1, S. सणि or सणिँ 1, सेणु or साणु 5, N. सँग 5; o) (Skr. सदृश), Mw. सार or सार 1, S. सार 1, G. सार 1; p) (Skr. समाधा?), W. H. सूधी 2, S. सूधी 5; q) (Skr. भवन्त), B. हइते 5, O. H. हुंतो or हूंतो 5, N. भन्दा 5; r) (Skr. कृत्वा), B. करिया 4, E. H. कर or करि 4, W. H. करि or करके 4, P. करके 4; s) (Skr. दत्त्वा), B. दिया 4; t) (Skr. पाश्र्वा), E. H., W. H. पास 6, P. पास 6, पासो<sup>०</sup> 5, S. and G. पासे 6, M. पासो<sup>०</sup> 6, पसुन् 5; u) (Skr. पर), B. पर or परे 6, E. H. पर or परि 6, W. H. पर or परि or पै 6, P. पर 6, परो<sup>०</sup> 5, S. परे 6, परौ<sup>०</sup> or परो<sup>०</sup> 5; v) (Skr. मध्य), B. मध्य or मध्ये or माके 6, E. H. माँक् or माँही<sup>०</sup> or मे<sup>०</sup> or मे or मा or म 6, W. H. मे<sup>०</sup> or मो<sup>०</sup> or मँ or माँय् or मई or माहै 6, O. H. मधि or मडि or मकि or माँक or मक्क or माहै<sup>०</sup> or माँहो<sup>०</sup> or माही or महि or मै<sup>०</sup> 6, O. P. मै or माहि 6, S. मंके or मे<sup>०</sup> 6, मँ or मो<sup>०</sup> 5, G. माँ 6, O. M. माजी 6, M. मध्ये<sup>०</sup> 6; w) (Skr. अन्तर), B. भितर or भितरे 6, E. H. and W. H. भीतर 6; x) (Skr. कउ), M. कडे 6, कडून् 5; y) (Skr. मस्त), S. मये 6, G. माटे 1, N. माणि 6; z) (Skr. सिस्), P. सिर 6, S. सिरे 6; aa) (Skr. वृत्त), W. H. बीच् 6, P. बिच् 6, O. P. बिचि 6, S. बिचे 6; and others.

375. *Derivation of the dat. affixes.* 1) In B. there is a dat. postpos. काहे (§. Ch. 62, 215) meaning lit. *near*; and the O. H. has a dat. aff. कहै or कहूँ or कहूँ or काहूँ, which often also means *near, by the side of*; e. g., ऋधि सिधि संपत्ति नदी सुहाई । उमगि अवध ब्रबुधि कहं आई ॥ i. e., *fair rivers of prosperity, success, wealth, overflowing came near to the sea of Avadh* (see Bs. II, 253\* where some more examples will be found). This points to the Skr. loc. कस्ते *at the side of* as their source. In the Ap. Pr. it would be कच्छे (as in B.), or \*कक्खे or \*कक्खहुं (see § 378) or probably \*कहे or \*कहि or \*कहहुं (or \*काहहुं, see § 116). The latter would contract in O. H. to कहूँ (or काहूँ), and in M. W. H. to कौ or (with the loss of *anunāsika*) in H. H. को. The former, कहि, contracts in E. H. and B. to के (see S. Ch. 49) and is shortened in O. to कि (Sn. 13). Similarly the O. कु (Sn. 13) is a shortened form of the H. H. को (= कहूँ). The S. ले has arisen from कहे or कहि by the metathesis of ह, just as in मैस् *buffalo* for वहिस or महिस, गधा *donkey* for गद्दा (Pr. गद्द H. C. 2, 37). — 2) Again the G. has the dat. postpos. लीये *for* (Ed. 115) and W. H. लये or लये or लए (Kl. 273, 508), H. H. लिये, S. लाइ or लइ (Tr. 404), P. लई. These are identical with the past part. G. लीयो, W. H. लयौ, H. H. लिया (see § 307) = Skr. लब्धः *obtained, benefited*. This points to the Skr. loc. लब्धे lit. *for the benefit of* (lat. *commodo*) as their source. In the Ap. Pr. it would be \*लहिए or \*लहियहिं or (eliding ह) लइए or लइयहिं, whence contr. W. H. लये or लये or P. लई, and still more contr. ले or \*लै. The form ले exists in N. as an act. aff. (§ 371); but लै and ले further change to Mw. नै and G. ने, which latter is used in W. H. as an act. aff. (§ 371). The change of ल् to न् occurs also in the B. नेउन् (S. Ch. 189) and O. नेना (Sn. 36) *to obtain* = H. H. लेना, E. H. लेब्. The contraction of लये to ले is like that of the Br. भये or ह्ये to भे or हे *they were* (Kl. 225, 438. 201). Another Ap. loc. would be \*लहियहुं or \*लइयहुं (see §§ 307. 378, 3) which would contract to \*लयूँ or लौ or लो. The last two forms exist in W. H. in the sense of *up to, until*. From लो arises the P. dat. aff. लू. Those forms of this dat. aff.

which have ञा, as N. लाई, S. लाइ, M. ला, are probably to be referred to the Ap. Pr. loc. लुहि or लाहे, Skr. लामे lit. *for the benefit of*. — 3) There is another set of dat. postpos. which has been much confused with the preceding one, though it is of an entirely different origin; viz. E. H. लग् or लगि, W. H. लागि, S. लगे or लगि, G. लागी, N. लागी, M. लागी, H. H. लग्. It means *up to, until, or on account of, for*, and is derived from the Skr. loc. लग्ने lit. *in contact with*. In the Ap. Pr. it is लगे or लगि, whence the Gd. लगे or लगि or लग् or लागि; or Ap. Pr. लगहि, whence the Gd. लागी or लगि or लागी<sup>1</sup>). P. has also the abl. postpos. लागे and S. लाक् (Tr. 401, ?लागै?) *from up* = Ap. Pr. abl. लगहु. — 4) The dat. postpos., B. ठाई and O. ठा-रे, are clearly the same as the Ap. Pr. loc. ठाणि or ठाणे, Skr. स्थाने *in the place of*; B. also uses the tats. स्थाने itself. — 5) The M. आढी (in the so-called postpos. साढी, see § 365, 1) is = Ap. Pr. loc. अरुहि, Skr. अर्ये lit. *in the interest of*. — 5) The B. पाके (for पाखे, see § 145, note), E. H. and W. H. पाही or पै, P. पाह् (Ld. 74) are = Ap. loc. \*पखे or पाहे or पाहि, Skr. पक्षे lit. *at the side of* (see § 116); B. also uses the tats. पक्षे; and P. has also an abl. postpos. पाहो (Ld. 74) = Ap. \*पाहु. — 6) The set, W. H. कणि (Km., see Kl. 69) or कने (Br.) or कने or कानी (Mw.), P. कनी, S. कने or कनि or काने or कानि (Tr. 401. 407), G. काने, which is also used in the lit. sense of *at the side of*, is = Ap. loc. कषे or कषहि and probably (as Tr. 401) = Skr. कर्णे or कार्णे (lit. *at the ear or belonging to the ear*, i. e., *side*). — 7) The forms, B., E. H., W. H. तक् or तलक्, W. H. तई or ताई, P. ताई or तीकु or तीकुर् or तेगे (Ld. 76. 126), S. ताई or तोई or तोगे or तोपौ (Tr. 399) meaning *up to, till, to*, I believe, form one set, together with the abl. aff., W. H. ते, ते, P. ते, उतो, उतौ (Ld. 77), S. तौ, तो (Tr. 400), meaning *from up to*, and the loc. aff., B., P., S. ते

1) The O. M. लगुनि or लगोनि is the conj. part. of the same verb, = Pr. लगिउपा; so also might be the G. लागी = Pr. लगिग; but not (as Bs. II, 260. 261) the M. लागी, on account of the final *amanásika*.

on, upon (S. Ch. 49. Ld. 77. Tr. 400). I am inclined to connect them with the Skr. past. part. तर्तित (or उत्तर्तित, of the R. तृ) *passed to*, hence *up-to, upon, from-upon*. The loc. तर्तिते would become Ap. तर्तिर् or \*तर्तिर् (see § 124) and contract 'to Gd. ते, just as Gd. ले arises from लहिर्, etc. (see above Nro. 2). The elements क्, कु I take to be the dat. aff. कि, कु (as in O.), and the elements ङी, णी to be pleon. suff. (see § 209). — 8) The set, Mw. सार् or सार्, S. सार्, G. सार्, which mean lit. *conformable to* (Tr. 400) and thence *for the sake of*, I connect with the Skr. सदृश *like*, Ap. obl. (or loc.) सार्हिद् or सार्हिद् (cf. § 292). — 9) The dat. aff., W. H. सणि (Km., see Kl. 69), S. सणि (Tr. 407), meaning *on account of, for*, together with the abl. aff., E. H. सन् or सेने or सेन् or सेनी *with, from*, P. सणे *with* (Ld. 74), S. साणु or सेणु *with* (Tr. 401), N. सणि *from*, S. सणि on account of (Tr. 407), I connect with the Skr. सङ्गे, which may mean *in company with* (from R. सम् + गम्) or *in attachment to* (from R. सञ्ज्). The conj. ञ् would readily pass into ह् or न्, cf. पक्ष for पक्ष (H. C. 2, 43. Wb. Bh. 403, see also p. 21). — 10) The W. H. सूधी (Kl. 69) *up-to, till* and S. सूधी *along with* (Tr. 401), the former a loc., the latter an abl., I would connect with some derivative of the R. समाध् (Ap. \*संवैड or \*सवैड), meaning *collected, adjusted*, whence *with or up-to*. — 11) The dat. aff., E. H. बटे, S. बटे (Tr. 402), G. बटे (Ed. 115), meaning *for or instead*, and the abl. aff., N. बट्, S. बट् *from* (Tr. 402), I connect with the Skr. बार्त्त (or वर्त्त or वृत्त) *welfare*, Pr. बट् or वृत्त (cf. H. C. 2, 29. 30), loc. वार्त्ते lit. *in favor of, for*, whence *in place of, instead*. — 12) The dat. aff. E. H. बरे and the abl. aff. M. वरन् are derived from the Skr. वर *boon, advantage*. — 13) The E. H. कार्त्त is the Pr. loc. कर्त्ते, Skr. कार्त्ते *for the work or sake of*. — 14) The S. करे or करि is contracted for \*करिर् = Skr. कृते *for the sake of*, and the corresponding abl. aff. is the M. करन्; similar is the M. dat. aff. करित् which is apparently a loc. sg. of the pres. part. (see §§ 300. 307). — 15) As to the relics, in M., of the organic dat. in आस्, ईस्, उस् sg. and आना, ईना, उना plur., see § 365, 1. 4.

*Note:* I think the identification of the S. खे with \*कहे more consonant with Gd. analogy (see § 132, note) than Trumpp's theory that खे = Skr. कृते, by the loss of र and consequent aspiration of क् (i. e., कृते = कृते = खिए = खे Tr. 115). For this process there is, I believe, no analogy in Gd. The examples, to which Tr. refers (मिथुं *tabor*, हिर्ध *heart*, for Skr. मृदङ्ग *a drum*, हृदय *heart* Tr. V.), are not analogous. For 1) र has not disappeared, and 2) it has aspirated the *following*, not the preceding cons.; whereas, in the case of खे, it is the preceding cons., and र has disappeared. According to the adduced analogy, Skr. कृते would become किये, not खे. There is *one* really analogous case in Pr. in the adverbial suff. त्र, for which Pr. has त्य (e. g., Pr. एत्य or एत्यु *here* = Skr. यत्र), but the case is unique, and the identification of त्य with त्र (Ls. 251) is, to my mind, doubtful, see § 469. — Beames' remarks on my theory (II, 258) are founded on a misunderstanding. I hold that both the W. H. को and the B. काहे are the same words, in as much as both are various modifications of the same Skr. words; and that the H. form represents a later phase of phonetic development than the B. form, in as much as B. has preserved the aspirate cons. of the Pr., while H. has worn it down to the simple aspirate ह् (in कहुं) and even dropped it altogether (in को, को); but not, that the one is actually derived from the other. The H. form comes after the B. *phonetically*, though not *historically*; only in this sense can one be said to be *derived from* the other.

376. *Derivation of the abl. and instr. affixes.* 1) Pr. has the instr. suff. हितो and सुतो (Vr. 5, 7), both in the plur. (H. C. 3, 7), but हितो 'also in the sing. (H. C. 3, 8). Of these the former contracts to M. हो, the latter to E. H., W. H. सो, Mw. सू, G. शू; similarly as the 3. pl. pres. termin. Skr. अन्ति, Pr. अन्ति contracts in Gd. ऐ or ऐ or ई (see § 497, 2 f.). In the Ap. Pr., there is an abl. aff. होतओ or होतउ (H. C. 4, 355), which appears in O. H. (Chand) as हुतो or हूत<sup>1</sup>). These forms

1) हूत् is a wk. f. = Ap. Pr. होतु or हुतु.

are really part. pres. of the verb भू *to be* (cf. H. C. 3, 180). The modern B. has still an abl. aff. हइते, and N. भंदा, which are part. pres. (cf. S. Ch. 148, and see § 300), representing the Pr. forms हवंत<sup>o</sup> and भवंत or भंत (cf. H. C. 4, 60 हवन्ति and H. C. 4, 365 भन्ति = Skr. भवन्ति *they are*). The rationale of this usage may be explained (as Bs. II, 237) „by supposing the idea to be that of having previously been at a place, but not being there now, which involves the idea of having come away from it“; thus Ap. तहँ होतइ आगदो (H. C. 4, 355), O. H. तहँ हुंतो आयो, N. तहँ भंदा आयो, B. ओया हइते आइल् *from there* (lit. *being there*) *he has come*. The Ap. and O. H. forms are *direct*, i. e., *he who is there* (lit. *the there being*) *has come*; the B. and N. forms are *oblique* and may be taken as loc., i. e., *in being there he has come*. Possibly the ordinary Pr. suff. हितो and सुंतो may be also pres. part. of the Rs. भू *be* and अस् *be* respectively, slightly modified for हंतो (cf. H. C. 4, 406 हन्ति)<sup>1)</sup> and संतो (cf. H. C. 1, 37). Just as हंतो or हुंतो (H. C. 4, 61) have become हितो, so संतो or सुंतो may become सितो; and this form appears to exist in the N. सित्<sup>2)</sup>, and in the S. से (Tr. 401), E. H. and H. H. से, G. शे and M. सी<sup>3)</sup> or शी<sup>3)</sup>. The S. सौ (Tr. 401) I would similarly derive from संतो which is still used by S., in the form संदो, as a gen. aff. (Tr. 129), or from संते which is still used in E. H. as an adv. part. *on being* (see § 488, note). — The Pr. suff. हितो and सुंतो are used for the

1) Pr. has a tendency to change अ to इ in the suff. हन्ति of the 3. pl. and हवन्त<sup>o</sup> of the part. pres., see Wb. Bh. 404. 428, and B. has इते in the pres. part. for E. H. अते (§ 300).

2) With त् for न्, as in the M. 3. pl. pres. अत् for Pr. हन्ति, and in the E. H. pres. part. in अत्, B. इत् for Pr. हन्तो (§ 300).

3) The M. सी<sup>3)</sup> or शी<sup>3)</sup> cannot be divided (as Bs. II, 272) into सृ + ई<sup>3)</sup>, the former being the termin. of the (Pr.) gen. sg., the latter the Pr. instr. plur. suff. हिं; thus M. देवासी<sup>3)</sup> = देवास् or देवस् + हिं. No doubt, modern M. case aff. (like ने<sup>3)</sup> in त्याच्या ने<sup>3)</sup> *by him*) may be added to a gen.; for they are relics of what were formerly full nouns. But ई<sup>3)</sup> is not an aff., but the relic of an old suff.; see at the end of this paragraph.

instr. only, but the Ap. aff. होतउ for the abl. also; similarly श्री and ही are confined, in M., to the instr., but in the other Gds. the corresponding aff. express both the instr. and abl. Thus instr. in E. H. ओह से कइल् गइल् *done by him or with it*, but abl. in तहाँ से आइल् *come from there*. They never have in E. H. strictly the sense of „in company with“; thus *gone with him* is not ओह से गइल् but ओह के संग गइल्; but they appear to be used so occasionally in S. (Tr. 403), e. g., वर पुनहू से पलकु *return with Punahū a moment*; and, of course, the instr. easily admits of this sense. — The Pr. हितो (H. C. 3, 7. 8) and the Ap. होतउ (H. C. 4, 372. 373) are used both in the sing. and plur.; but हितो was in Pr. originally confined to the plur. (Vr. 5, 6. 7), and the M. ही is so still; on the other hand, both M. and all other Gds. extend सो, सो, से, etc. to the sing. also, while the corresponding Pr. सुतो is limited to the plur. — The M. abl. aff. हुन् or, curtailed, उन् can not well be derived from the Pr. हितो (as Ls. 311. Bs. II, 234. 236); though it may be (like the O. H. हुँत्) traced to the Ap. होतउ (or rather the wk. f. होतु) by the change of न् to न्, as in the S. suff. अन्ति of the 3. plur. pres. for Pr. अन्ति. Indeed this derivation would hardly admit of a doubt, but for the fact, that in O. M. the aff. is हुनि or हुनियँ, which points to its being a conj. part., the suff. of which is in O. M. उनियँ or उनि and in M. M. उन् (see § 491). Accordingly it would be equal to होउन *having been*. Similarly N. uses the conj. part. देखि *having seen* as an abl. aff.; e. g., ताँहाँ देखि निस्वयो *he came out from there*, माँक् देखि *from the midst*. But very possibly (as Bs. II, 236 suggests) some confusion may have taken place between the abl. aff. हुन् and the conj. part. होउन; and, on the whole, the identification of हुन् with हुतो seems most to commend itself<sup>1)</sup>. — 2) As regards the other groups of abl. and instr. aff. or postpos., the B. ठाँइ

1) With Bs.' identification (II, 272) of the M. ही with Pr. हिं and of the H. सो or से with Skr. सम (II, 274) and with Ls.' derivation (310) of हितो from हिं + तस् I cannot agree.



(S. Ch. 229) and O. ठा-र or ठाडँ or ठुँ (Sn. 13) are derivatives of Skr. स्थान, ठाँइ or ठा (र is the abl. aff.) being = Ap. loc. ठाणि, and ठाडँ or ठुँ = Ap. abl. ठापाहु. Identical with these, only substituting घ् for ठ् (cf. H. C. 4, 16) is the other set: N. याजि, P. E. H., W. H. योँ (Ld. 77), G. यी (Ed. 115), all = Ap. loc. याणि; and O. P. यावहु or योँ or यो, M. P. योँ = Ap. abl. यापाहु; in the B. येके (S. Ch. 62. 230) and G. यकी the aff. के and की are super-added. — 3) The explanation of the set of instr. aff., E. H. सन्, सने, सेन्, सेनी, S. साणु or सेणु *with*, and of the abl. aff., E. H. ते, तेँ, P. उतोँ, S. तौ or तोँ, has been given in § 375. So also that of the M. abl. aff. कल्न् and वल्न्, and of the N. झट, S. घटौ. Others, as M. पासून्, P. पासोँ, and P. परोँ, S. परौँ or परोँ, and S. मौँ or मोँ or मंकाँ and S. मयाँ, will be explained in § 378. — 4) There are also some relics of the old organic instr. or abl. Thus M. has an instr. sing. suff. ऐँ (Man. 17), which is the Ap. instr. sg. suff. ऐँ (H. C. 4, 342), probably contracted for अहिँ (see § 367, 5); e. g., M. देवेँ *by a god*, Ap. देवेँ, for \*देवहिँ. Again M. has an instr. pl. suff. ईँ, which is contracted from the Ap. instr. pl. suff. अहिँ (H. C. 4, 347); e. g., M. देवीँ *by gods* = Ap. देवहिँ. Again there are the abl. sg. suff. अँ and अडँ or ओँ or उँ in S. (Tr. 117, 5) or ओँ in P. (Ld. 12) which are the same as the Ap. abl. plur. suff. अहँ and अहुँ (H. C. 4, 337. 339, see § 367, 5); e. g., S. घरौँ *from a house* = Ap. Pr. घरहँ, or S. घरडँ or घरौँ or घरँ, P. घरौँ = Ap. घरहुँ.

377. *Derivation of the gen. affixes.* The O. H. possesses a gen. aff., which in the weak form, dir. and obl., sing. and pl., is केरू m., केरि f., and in the strong form, *masc.*, dir. sg. केरा (E. H.) or केरो, केरौ (W. H.), obl. sg. and dir. pl. केरे (E. H. and Br.) or केरा (Mw.); *fem.*, dir. and obl., sg. and pl. केरी. The same forms exist also in O. P. (Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI) and in O. G., which latter adds the st. form neut. sg. केरै, pl. केरौँ (see Bs. II, 283). Thus *masc.* sg. केरू in सो सुग्रीव केरू लघु धावन, i. e., *it is Sugrīva's little messenger* (T. Dās, Lankā) or मिटे न जीवन्ह केरू कलेसा *the pain of the creatures is not removed* (T. Dās in Kl. 72); *fem.* sg. केरि in सीता केरि करहु

रखवारी, i. e., *keep a watch of Sītā* (T. Dās in Kl. 72); masc. sg. dir. केरा in एक नारि अत रघुपति केरा, i. e., *to have one wife is the rule of Raghupati* (T. Dās, Lanka), or केरो in को तेरा पुत्र पिता तूँ काको सिथ्य भ्रम जग केरो, i. e., *who is thy son, whose father art thou, (such questioning) is a delusion and error of the world* (Kabir, Suravali 12), or केरौ in दौरै गज शंघ चाहुवान केरौ *blindly ran the elephant of the Chāhuvān* (Chand 20, 141); masc. sg. obl. केरे in आखर केरे वषत मेँ बंदे किस का करोगे दीदार *at the time of the end, oh friend, to whom will you look up?* (in Kabir's Rekhtās); masc. pl. कैर. केरे in ये किरिट दशकंधर केरे *these are the diadems of Ravana* (T. Dās, Lanka), or केरा in जगहवी केरा तरंग तजो ने तट माँ जाइ कूप खादे रे *having left the waves of Ganges he goes on to the bank and drinks from a well* (Narsingh, Kāvyaḍ. 2, 4 in Bs. II, 283); fem. sg. dir. केरी in सुनि कठोर बाणी कपि केरी *having heard the stern voice of the monkey* (T. Dās, Lanka), etc. Some more examples will be found in my Essay I. in J. B. A. S. XLI, 127. 128. Bs. II, 281—284. Kl. 72. On referring to the rules for the treatment of adj. (§§ 381. 384. 386) it will be seen, that these gen. aff. केर etc., are treated exactly like adj. This remark applies also to the other sets of gen. affixes. The O. H., namely, possesses also another set, which is merely a slightly modified form of the former. It consists of the weak forms, dir. and obl., sg. and plur., कर m., करौ f. Thus masc. dir. sg. कर in कौन रंग है जीव को ता कर कारु खिवेक *what is the pleasure of life, of that make investigation* (Kabir, Ramaini 24), or क्षत्रि ज्ञाति कर रोष *the wrath of the warrior-caste* (T. Dās, Lanka); or plur. सब कर शानु सुकृत फल बीता' *to day the fruit of the good deeds of all has passed away* (T. Dās Ayodhyā 343 in Bs. II, 279); fem. sg. dir. करि in सु भट सीसन विन किनिय । ह्य किनिय विन नरनि । सेन भीमह करि किनिय ॥ lit. *the warriors without heads he made, the horses he made without men, the army of Bhima he dispersed* (Chand, Soma-badha 41). For some more examples, see again my Ess. I, Bs. and Kl. *ibidem*. This set is preserved in E. H., which adds the corresponding strong forms, masc. dir. sg. करा, obl. sg. and nom. pl. करे, fem. sg. and pl., dir. and obl. करी. They are confined,

however, to the pronouns (see § 439). They occur also in O., but are limited to the plur., in connection with the plur. sign मानन् (obl. f. of माने § 363, 2); thus gen. देव-मानन्-कर of gods, where कर is both masc. and fem., sing. and plur., again loc. or dat. देव-मानन्-करे to gods and abl. देव-मानन्-कह from gods, where करे and कह are the regular O. dat. and abl. of कर (cf. O. हाते to or in a hand, हातु from a hand of हात् hand, see Sn. 15). In the sing., O. curtails कर, करे, कह into र, रे, ह respectively, e. g., जन-र of a man, but जन-मानन्-कर of men; जन-रे to a man, जन-ह from a man. Again B., N. and Mw. possess only these curtailed forms; viz., B. the wk. f. र in the gen. (e. g., sg. जने-र of a man, pl. जन-दे-र of men; sg. चेला-र of a disciple, pl. चेला-दे-र of disciples, see § 364, 2), and the st. f. रा in the nom. pl. (e. g., जने-रा men, lit. (multitude) of man; चेला-रा disciples, see § 369); N. the weak f. ह in the nom. pl. (e. g., जनहे-ह or जनह-ह men, चेलाहे-ह or चेलह-ह disciples, see § 364, 3); Mw. the st. f. रो m., री f. (e. g., जन-रो घर the house of a man, जन-रै घरै in the house of a man, जन-रा घर-नै to the house of a man, जन-रा घर the houses of a man, जन-री बात or बातें the word or words of a man). Similarly in Mw. and E. R., the conj. part. कर is curtailed to र (e. g., मर-र having died = H. H. मर कर, see § 491)<sup>1</sup>). On the other hand, र may be elided and the hiatus-vowels contracted; whence arise the st. forms का or को or कौ m., की f., के or का obl., for करा or करो, etc., and the weak forms कै or के or shortened कि or क comm. gen. for करि or कर. Thus masc. dir. sg. in प्रान इन-कै दुख मुझै his life departs from pain (Chand 26, 2); fem. dir. sg. in सुनहु विभीषण प्रभु-कै रीती। hear, o Vibhishan, the lord's custom (T. Dās, Sundara 298 in Bs. II, 278); masc. dir. sg. क in प्रेम-क गुण कहब सब कोइ every one will say (it is) the quality of love (Vidyapati, Pad. in Bs. II, 281); fem. dir. sg. in पितु आजसु सब धर्म-क टीका (to obey) a father's command is the crown of all virtue (T. Dās, Ayodhya 334 in Bs. II, 283); masc.

1) Similarly और and is shortened in E. H. to घर and curtailed in N. to र; e. g., दिया र and they were.

obl. sg. क in हरि सु उठरै दिन-क महि *Hari can save in an instant* (Chand 1, 60 in Bs. II, 283) or फुटल बँधुलि कमल-क संग *the bāndhuli has flowered with the lotus* (Vidyapati in Bs. Ind. Antiq. Febr. 1873). In the E. H., as a rule, the weak forms कै and के only are used. The former, however, is now constructed only with dir., the latter with obl. forms (e. g., जन कै घर *the house of a man*, but जन के घर *मे in the house of a man*); perhaps by way of assimilation to the W. H. obl. के, if the E. H. obl. के is not actually identical with it. The st. forms का or को sometimes occur already in O. Gd.; thus कौ in कंठसोभ बर हंद कौ ! नाम क्यौ परवान ॥ *the name of this verse is truly called Kantasobha* (Chand 27, 31); fem. की in कया मंड चहुआन की कहि *they well told the story of Chahuān* (Chand 27, 22); obl. के in सूकर खान के जन्मै धरई । जो गुरु केरी निंदा करई, i. e., *he will take the births of a swine and dog who causes the disgrace of his teacher* (in Kabir's Rekhtās). They are the ordinary gen. aff. in W. H. (exc. Mw.) and H. H. Lastly there is an example of a fem. st. f. किय in कया जपि ससीवृत्त किय । अब कहत कया विस्तार किय । जो राजन दूतन करिय ॥ *narrating the story of Sasivritta, he now tells the story in detail, which the messengers of the kings had told* (Chand 25, 41); and the corresponding masc. occurs, e. g., in the O. P. abl. aff. किछु (Tr. A. Gr. CXXV) which is a regular Ap. Pr. abl. of किछो<sup>1</sup>). There can hardly be a doubt, *prima facie*, that all these various sets of gen. aff. are merely different modifications of the same original form. Turning to Pr., we find the 1<sup>st</sup> set not unfrequently occurring in the following forms: 1) in the wk. f. sg. केरो or केह m., केरी f., केरं or केह n.; st. f. sg. केरओ m., केरिआ f., केरअं or केरउं n., or (specially in Mg. Pr.) केरको etc. or केलके etc. They are treated in every way like adj., i. e., they are fully declined in conformity with the governing subst. Thus masc. केरो in H. C. 2, 147. 148; n. केरं in H. C. 2, 99. 148; masc. केरओ in एसो कबु अलंकारओ अज्जआ केरओ *this surely*

1) It is quite analogous to the above mentioned O. abl. aff. कह, which is a curtailed form of the Ap. abl. काहु or क्रो.

is the ornament of the lady (Mrchh. act. 4. Skr. चार्यायाः वस्त्रधारः); fem. in मम केलिका वठवालिखा my turn of slaughter (Mrchh. act. 10. Skr. मम बठपारी); neut. in कस्त केरकं एदं पवहपां whose is this conveyance (Mrchh. act. 6. Skr. कस्य प्रवहपाम्) or तुम्हहं केरउं धणु your wealth (H. C. 4, 373. Skr. युष्माकं धनं); masc. instr. sg. in जसु केरं हुंकारउं मुहहुं पउंति तपाइं on account of whose (the lion's) roaring the grass falls from the mouths (of the deer) (H. C. 4, 422. Skr. यस्य हुंकारेण<sup>1</sup>). It will be observed, that केर is here used in Pr. as a gen. aff. precisely as in Gd. For 1) it takes its dependent noun in the gen. (= Gd. obl. form) and agrees with its governing noun as an adj.; thus compare T. Dás' जीवन्ह केर कलेसा the pain of the creatures or Chand's भीमह करि सेन the army of Bhima with H. C.'s तुम्हहं केरउं धणु the wealth of you; 2) it is pleonastic, i. e., it has no meaning of its own and might be omitted from the passage without affecting the sense; thus तम्हहं धणु and तुम्हहं केरउं धणु<sup>2</sup>) or कस्त पवहपां and कस्त केरकं पवहपां are absolutely identical in meaning, just as जीवन्ह कलेसा or भीमह सेन would be in Gd.; 3) it is added merely to distinguish or emphasise the gen. or, in other words, simply as a gen. aff.; just as in Gd., where it is added only to distinguish the obl. f. in its gen. sense from its other senses; this, indeed, is expressly affirmed by H. C. 4, 422 संबन्धिनः केरतसौ i. e. सम्ब<sup>०</sup> परे केर<sup>०</sup> भवतः after (or in addition to) the gen. kera and tana are used; and then follows the example जसु केरं etc. (see above). It cannot be doubted, then, but that the Pr. केरो, etc. are identical with the Gd. केर, etc. and therefore, *prima facie*, with the other Gd. sets of gen. aff. Now, according to old Indian tradition, the Pr. केर is the same as the Skr. past part. कृत done, made, of the R. कृ do. I believe, this tradition can be shown to be correct both on *intrinsic* and *phonetic* grounds. In the first place, the phrase done by most easily lends itself to express the gen. sense „of“; thus in H. C.'s example

1) More exam. will be found in my Essay I. in J. B. A. S. XLI. 129. 180, and in an article by Pischel in the Ind. Antiq. April 1878. p. 121. 122.

2) H. C. 4, 373. 380 expressly states that तुम्हहं by itself is the gen. plur.

the phrase *जसु करे हुंकारउरे* lit. *through the roaring made by whom* is equivalent to *through whose roaring*. It may be remarked here, that in the literary Pr. the word *करे* is usually not added to the gen., but compounded with its dependent noun; the gen. construction being confined, as a rule, to the Ap. and the lower Mg. dialects; thus Mh. Pr. *रायकरे* *royal*, *पारकरे* *foreign* (H. C. 2, 146) or *अम्हकरे* *ours*, *तुम्हकरे* *yours* (H. C. 2, 147. 1, 246. 2, 99), but Ap. Pr. *अम्हं करेउ* *ours*, *तुम्हं करेउ* *yours* (H. C. 4, 373. 359) or Mg. Pr. *कषा केलके* *whose* (Mrhchh. 96, 22), *तविअपाए केलका* *of an ascetic* (Mrhchh. 152, 6), etc. Originally *करे* cannot have been pleonastic, but must have had a meaning of its own, and supposing the latter to have been the past part. „done“, *करे* would naturally be first used in the compounding construction; thus Mh. *रायकरे* = Skr. *राजकृतं* lit. *done by a king*, Mh. *अम्हकरे* or *अम्हकरे* (H. C. 2, 99) = Skr. *अस्मत्कृतं* *done by us*<sup>1</sup>). But the original meaning was soon lost sight of, and *करे* looked upon as a mere possessive (gen.) suff. and used in the compound constr., or even as a gen. aff. and, in this case, appended pleonastically to the gen. The former usage is expressly taught by H. C. in his rules on the Mh. Pr. *इदमर्थस्य करे*: i. e., *kera* is used as a possessive suff. (H. C. 2, 147) and *परराजभां क्कडिक्कौ च* i. e., *kka*, *ikka* and *kera* are used as possessive suff. after *para* and *rdja* (H. C. 2, 148), i. e., like the Skr. possessive suff. *इय* and *कीय*. The latter usage is taught by him in his rule on the Ap. Pr. (quoted above) *संबन्धिनः कर्तृणौ* (H. C. 4, 422)<sup>2</sup>). — The identification (by Psch. in the

1) E. g., Pr. *रायकरे वयनं* = Skr. *राजकृतं वचनं* lit. *speech made by a king*, i. e., *a king's speech*.

2) The comp. usage probably preceded the pleon. one; accordingly we find the comp. form Mh. Pr. *तुम्हकरे* *yours* contracted in the later Ap. Pr. to *तुम्हारा* (H. C. 4, 434) which occurs in the Ap. beside the pleon. form *तुम्हं करेउ* (H. C. 4, 357). Probably the Ap. *तुम्हारा* is really = \**तम्हकरिओ*, see § 73. — The curtailment of *करे*, *करे* to *रू*, *रो* in B., O. and Mw. may perhaps be traced back to the original compounding usage. — The Skr. suff. *कीय* itself may well be derived from the past part. *कृत*.

Ind. Ant. Dec. 1873, p. 368 and Ls. 118. Wb. Spt. 38. 66) of केर with the Skr. part. fut. pass. कार्य is untenable. For 1) the meaning of कार्य *what is to be done* would not produce a gen. without a violent wrench (so rightly Bs. II, 286), and 2) phonetically, all Pr. analogies are (not, as Ls. thinks for, but) *against* it. In all the examples mentioned by the Pr. gramm., it is a *short* अ which absorbs a following इ; thus Pr. सेज्ञा, वेज्ञी, पेज्ञतो or पेर्तो, सुदेरो, अच्चेरो, बम्हचेरो are = Skr. प्रज्ञा, वलिः, पर्यन्तः, सौन्दर्यः, आश्चर्यः, बम्हचर्यः (Vr. 1, 5. H. C. 1, 57. 58. 59)<sup>1</sup>). On the other hand Skr. °आर्य° becomes in Pr. °अस्त° or °आरिश्च° (Vr. 3, 17. 10, 8. H. C. 2, 24. 4, 314); e. g., Pr. भज्ञा or भारिश्चा = Skr. भार्या *wife*; Pr. कस्तं or कारिश्च = Skr. कार्यम् *to be done*<sup>2</sup>). — *Secondly*, the identification of केर with कृत is supported by Pr. and Gd. phonetic analogies. Skr. roots in ऋ, as कृ, धृ, मृ, चृ, etc., become in Pr. कर्, धर्, मर्, सर्, etc. (Vr. 8, 12. H. C. 4, 234) and form<sup>3</sup> their past part. by means of the connecting vowel इ (Ls. 363), as करिश्चो, धरिश्चो (H. C. 1, 36), मरिश्चो, सरिश्चो (H. C. 4, 355 पसरिश्च = Skr. प्रसृतकम्), etc. By the transfer of इ into the preceding syllable, करिश्चो and the

1) H. C. 1, 78 gives Pr. मेज्ञं for Skr. ग्राहं; but even this single case is no real exception; for Skr. has both गृहं and ग्राहं; and the Pr. मेज्ञं is clearly the former; just as Skr. गृह्णाति is in Pr. मेपहइ (H. C. 4, 209); that is, Skr. गृहं = \*ग्रहं = Pr. मेज्ञं. — The Pr. मेन्न or मत्य for Skr. मात्र is not an exception; for no इ has been absorbed; besides the derivation from मात्र is doubtful; Ls. 128 suggests an original मित्र.

2) Mđ. 19, 4 allows to the Ps. Pr. °आरिश्च° also, but not °एर°; viz. र्यस्य रिश्चः प्राग्वस्वो वा । र्यस्य रिश्चः स्यात् । प्राक् द्वस्वश्च वा स्यात् ॥ भारिश्चा । भरिश्चा ॥ कार्यं कश्च च दृश्यते । कश्च । चकारात् कारिश्च । करिश्चं च ॥ i. e., „ry becomes ria and the preceding vowel may be short or long“. — Skr. कार्य never becomes कार् in Pr. (as Psch. ibidem); the Skr. कार् is a different word, with an active sense, *doing*, while कार्य is passive, *what is to be done*. The B. gen. आपनकार्, आत्तिकार्, कलकार् do not contain a gen. aff. कार्; there is no such B. aff.; but the forms are regular gen. of आपना *own*, आत्तिका *of to-day*, कलका *of yesterday* (gen. आपनका-र्, etc.), which words exist in H. also and may be declined through all cases, both in H. and B.; see S. Ch. 115.

st. f. करिष्यो become करो and कर्यो, just as Skr. वाच्यम् *wonderful* becomes in Pr. वच्यं or वच्ये (Vr. 1, 5. H. C. 1, 58). Similarly Pr. उक्करो *a heap* and देर *a door* are, in all probability, modified from the pass. part. pass. Pr. उक्करिष्यो *heaped up* and दरिष्यो *split*, of the Rs. उत्कृ and दृ resp.<sup>1)</sup>. The modified part. forms करो and कर्यो are never used in Pr. or Gd. but as gen. aff., while the unmodified forms करिष्यो and करिष्यो serve both as proper part. and as gen. aff. No examples, indeed, I believe, of the latter two forms in either usage have been found as yet in Pr. literature. But notwithstanding this, their existence would be but in accordance with the general rule of the Pr. gramm. (Vr. 8, 12. H. C. 4, 234) that the conjugational base is कृ (not कृ). And what is more, they do actually exist in Gd. as the *ordinary past part.* of the verb कृ *to do*; see § 307; which §, moreover, will show, that in Gd. the part. forms of कृ are the same as the gen. aff. Thus the gen. aff. करा or करू m., करी or करि f. occur identically as part. in O. H. (T. Dās) and Bs. and, in the slightly modified form करो m., in Kn., कर्यो m. in Mw. and कर्यो m. in Br., करी f. in all (see Kl. 205, 3. 207, 390. 213, 405. 216, 414. 223, 431). The O. H. gen. aff. किय or O. P. abl. aff. कियहु occur as the ordinary H. H. part. किया m., किई f. *done*. The contr. gen. aff. का or क do not, I believe, occur as part., but quite analogous contractions are the part. गा or ग for गया or गया *gone*, भा or भ for भया *been*, पा for पाया *found* in Bs. (see Kl. 225, 438. 230, 449) and O. H.; e. g., तमसि तमसि सामंत सब । रोस भरि ग प्रचिरात ॥ i. e., *in great passion were all the chiefs, with wrath was filled Prathirdāj* (= H. H. भू गया). The E. H. part. कइल, M. केला, B.

\* 1) Pr. gramm. (H. C. 1, 58. 79) identify them with the Skr. उत्कर् and दूगर्, which, of course, can be true as to the meaning only. Ls. 118 derives उक्करो from a supposed vulgar form उत्कर्य, which shows that he himself felt, that Pr. analogy requires a *short अ* before र् to produce ए; for according to rule (Pan. 3, 1. 120. 124) the part. fut. pass. ought to be उत्कर्य. — The common Skr. past part. is उत्कीर्ण; but Pr. would form, as usual, उत्करित.



करि<sup>ल</sup> presuppose an original form करिद् or करित् (§§ 109. 307). The st. form कयै<sup>न</sup> m. (= Ap. करिअउ) is found frequently in the O. H. of Chand; thus बिंद ललाट प्रसेद । कयै<sup>न</sup> संकर गतरात्रं ॥ *of the drops of perspiration made a chain the elephant* (Revatāṭa 3) or तिहि उपरु, चाँमंड । कयै<sup>न</sup> हुस्सैन खान सति ॥ *upon this Chāmand made Hussain Khān ready* (Revatāṭa 58); and the st. form करिय f. (= Ap. करिइया) in करिय अरत उमराउ *the nobles made petition* (Revatāṭa 96), or सब मिलि सु ताहि पुजा करिय *all assembling made adoration of him* (Adiparv. 96); again the wk. form करि f. in करि सलाह संमेल करि *they (made) took counsel having made an assembly* (Revatāṭa 96), etc. — Thus the gen. aff. of W. H., E. H., N., B. and O. form a group by themselves, all being derivatives of the past part. कृत. — 2) To this group I would also affiliate the M. aff. चा m., चो f., चे<sup>न</sup> n. In the O. M. the forms चिया m., चिये<sup>न</sup> n. (Man. 138) occur, from which the modern forms are contracted, just as M. H. का from O. H. किय. In M. the initial क् has been palatalised by the influence of the succeeding palatal इ; just as in Pr. चिलादो for Skr. किरातः (Vr. 2, 33) and in Pr. अम्हेचयं *ours*, तुम्हेचयं *yours* (H. C. 2, 149) beside Pr. अम्हक्करं and तुम्हक्करं (H. C. 2, 99. 2, 147). In fact, in the two last examples we have, in a slightly modified form, the O. M. gen. aff. चिया (cf. E. H. गया, but B. गिया *gone*). According to Pr. gramm. (H. C. 2, 147. 149) अम्हेचयं is but an other form of अम्हक्करं, which shows that it is = \*अम्हक्कयं = \*अम्हक्कइअं = \*अम्हक्करिअं, the इ having been transferred into the preceding syllable अक्क and having palatalised it into एच्. — The M. चा is sometimes identified with the Skr. suff. त्व (as Bs. II, 289. Man. 132, 8). This theory assumes, that an old suff. has in comparatively modern times changed into an aff.; for the M. चा is not added to the base (as the Skr. suff.) but to the obl. form; i. e., to the old gen. Such a change would be, as far as I know, altogether unique, without any analogy or evidence to support it. The word केर (unlike त्व) was never a real suff., though sometimes it is practically used like one in Pr.; but it is a real noun with a meaning of its own, viz. *made* or *done*; and this accounts

for its peculiar use as an aff. constructed with the obl. f. On the other hand, the change of क् to च् through a following इ is supported by the examples above quoted, to which may be added the S. neut. Interrog. pron. *का* *what* (i. e., *chhá* = *khá* = *kihá*) corresponding to the P. क्निष्ठा and W. H. क्या for \*किहा (cf. P. obl. किह दा *of whom*); also the G. सो m., सो f., सुँ n. *who* for \*हो, \*हो, \*हुँ (see § 438, 5)<sup>1</sup>. — 3) The P., S. and possibly G. and Konkani gen. aff., I believe, form a distinct group. The P. gen. aff. are: दा m., दो f. The same aff. occurs in B. as a component part of the plur. sign, viz. दे or दि in देर, दिगे (see § 364, 2), and as the instr. aff. दिया with which may be compared the P. obl. plur. masc. दिनां, see § 374. I believe them to be identical with the past part. दिया *given* of the verb दे *to give* (see § 307), and their origin to be precisely analogous to that of the preceding groups. The past part. *given*, just like the \*part. *made*, would easily produce the gen. sense „of“; e. g., the P. जंत्र दो वाणी lit. *the sound given by an instrument* is the same as *the sound of an instrument*. — The S. gen. aff. are सो m., सो f. Here the original initial द् has been palatalised by the following palatal इ. Other examples of the same change are the P. सजेहा or सजेहा *of such sort* (Ld. 19) and the S. इको *this* (Tr. 198, for *idhio* = *idiho*, see § 132, note) for Skr. ईदृशः; the S. उको *that* (Tr. 202) = Skr. \*एवदृशः; the Ap. Pr. एताहो (Ls. 455, for \*एदिआहो = \*एदाइहो) = Skr. एतादृशः; the S. कुताडो *what* (cf. H. कुता *where*) for Skr. \*कवदृशः (see § 438, 4). — The O. P. has a gen. aff. डा (Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI), where the initial द् has been cerebralised, as in the M. S. डिअनु *to give* (Tr. 276. H. H. देना). The modern G. gen. aff. नो m., नो f., नुँ n. I am inclined to count with this set by the not uncommon change of द् or ड् to ण् or न् (§ 106). They might be, however, as Bs. II, 287 suggests, curtailed forms of the gen. aff. तणो, तणी, तणुँ, which occur in

1) In the Romance languages the change of the guttural iato the palatal is very common, even before the vowel a; e. g., lat. *camera*, french *chambre*, engl. *chamber*; lat. *caminus*, fr. *cheminée*, engl. *chimney*, etc.

O. G. and still earlier in the Ap. Pr. (H. C. 4, 422, e. g., *बह भग्ना अम्हाहं तपा* *that is the fortune of us*). They still occur occasionally in Br. (तनी) and Mw. तपा<sup>1</sup> or तपा<sup>1</sup> m., तपा<sup>1</sup> f., तपा<sup>1</sup> plur. (see Kl. 68, 73). — The Mewari gen. aff. जो m., जो f., जा or जे obl. (Kl. 68) and Konkani लो, etc. (Bs. II, 287) I am also inclined to refer to this group, on account of the cerebral ङ, which appears to be a modification of the ङ in the O. P. ङ. They might be, however, identified with the Mw. रो, etc. (as Bs. II, 287), which occur also in O. P. (see Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI). And I may add here, that the aff. का, केरा, चा of the other groups and the S. ता occur in O. P. also (see Tr. ibidem). — 4) There is one more peculiar group of gen. aff.; viz. in Mw. (poetry) हंदो m., हंदी f. (Kl. 68, 73); in S. sg. dir. संदो m., संदी f., obl. संदे m., संदिअ f., plur. dir. संदा m., संदिअ f., obl. संदे<sup>2</sup> or संदनि m., संदिनि or संदिअनि or संदिउनि f.; in Ksh., with & sg. noun, sg. संदु m., संदु f., pl. संदि m., संद f., with a plur. noun, sg. हिंदु m., हिंदु f., pl. हिंदि m., हिंदि f. (see Bs. II, 290)<sup>1</sup>). Bs. (II, 291) identifies them with the Pr. pres. part. हंतो and संतो *being* of the Rs. भू and अस् *to be*. This is quite possible. But perhaps an other derivation may be suggested. They may be divided into सं-दो, हं-दो or हिं-दो; the first parts सं and हं or हिं being the Pr. gen. termin. of the sing. and plur. resp. (§ 365, 1. 7), and दो the gen. aff. as in P. Thus Mw. जनहंदो or Ksh. जनहिंदु *of men* being really जनहं or जनहिं + दो or दु; S. जनसंदो and Ksh. जनसंदु *of a man* being जनस-दो for the Pr. gen. sg. तपास्. This would explain the singular difference in Ksh. between the sing. and plur. aff. On the other hand, one would have to assume that S. has lost the plur. and Mw. the sing. forms. But these curious gen. aff. are at present too little known, to allow of any satisfactory theory being propounded.

1) Bs. transliterates سنڙه by संतह, which is hardly correct. The final s is merely a mater lectionis, to indicate that the word in which it is used ends in a short or, sometimes, long a; e. g., نَع = न *not*, بِد = ब *with*, بند = बंदा *servant*, etc. Hence either संत *sañja* or संता *sañjá*; probably the former.

378. *Derivation of the locative affixes.* 1) The original of the aff. मे etc. is the Skr. loc. मध्ये *in the midst of*, which in Ap. Pr. becomes मङ्के or मङ्कि or मङ्कहिं. From these Ap. forms arise two Gd. sets, one retaining क्, the other changing it to ह् (see § 117). To the first set belong the B. माके, S. मंके for Ap. मङ्के; the O. H. मकि or माँक, E. H. माँक् for Ap. मङ्कि, and the O. M. मात्री (or मात्री) for Ap. मङ्कहिं; also the S. abl. aff. मंको or मंकाँ *from-within* for Ap. मङ्कहुं or मङ्कहं. To the second set belong the O. H. महि for Ap. मकि, and the O. H. माँहै or माँही or माँही, E. H. and Br. माँहो, Mw. माहै or माई or मई (for \*मही) for Ap. मङ्कहिं; also the E. H. मे contracted from महि, W. H. मेँ contr. from \*महो, E. H., W. H., G. माँ, N. मा similarly contr. from \*महाँ = मकाँ (cf. S. abl. aff.) = Ap. मङ्कहं; and W. H. मोँ for \*महो = मको (cf. S. abl. aff.) = Ap. मङ्कहुं. Both, माँ and मोँ, occur in S. also as abl. aff. — 2) Other groups of loc. aff. or postpositions are: a) the M. ठाई = Ap. ठाणहिं, and the N. थाजि = Ap. थाणि, for Skr. स्थाने *in the place of*; b) the N. माधि and S. मये *upon* = Ap. Pr. मत्थि or मथे for Skr. मस्ते *on the head or top of*, and the corresponding S. abl. aff. मयाँ *from-upon*; similar to these are: S. सिरे, P. सिर upon = Ap. सिरे for Skr. सिरसि *on the head of*; c) the B. भितर or भितरे, E. H., W. H. भीतर *within* (see § 172); d) in all Gds. पर or परि or पर् *upon*, Ap. Pr. परि (H. C. 4, 438), Skr. परे *beyond*; and the corresponding abl. aff. S. पर्त and S. or P. परो *from-upon*; e) the S. and G. पासे, P. and W. H. पास् = Ap. पासि or पासे, and M. पासो = Ap. पासहिं, for Skr. पार्श्वे *by the side of*; f) the S. विचे, P. विच्, O. P. विचि, W. H. वीच् *within* = Ap. विच्चे or विचि, perhaps for Skr. वृत्ये lit. *surrounded by*; cf. H. G. 4, 421, where the Ap. विच्च is said, to be a substitute for Skr. वर्त्तमान; g) the M. त् *mt*, as in घरांत *in a house*, कवीत् *in a poet*, मधूत् *in honey* (Man. 30. 31), is probably a curtailment of the Pr. संतो or संते (H. C. 1, 14. 60) for Skr. अन्तर *within*; and related to it, in all Gds., अंतर = Ap. अंतर् (H. C. 4, 350), for Skr. अन्तरम् *within*. — 3) There are also some relics of the old organic loc.: a) loc. sg. in इ in most Gds.,

for Ap. इ, Skr. ए; b) loc. sg. in ऐ or ए in most Gds., or ई in N., P., G., for Ap. ए<sup>1</sup> or अइ or अहि; c) loc. sg. in ऐ<sup>०</sup> or ऐ<sup>१</sup> in E. H., ई<sup>०</sup> in P., or loc. sg. and pl. in ई<sup>०</sup> in M., for Ap. sg. and pl. अहि; d) loc. sg. in अँ in E. H., W. H., or loc. sg. and pl. in अँ in M., for Ap. pl. अहं; e) loc. sg. in ओ<sup>०</sup> or उ in W. H., for Ap. pl. अहुं. Examples see §§ 367, 5. 375, 1. 2. 77. 78.

### 5. DECLENSION.

379. There is only *one* declension. All subst. are declined exactly alike; and the base never changes, exc. in the obl. cases of the plur., where अन्, इन्, उन् are added (see § 362). One example, therefore, of a subst. fully declined will be sufficient. But as a matter of convenience, I shall add a list of nom. and gen. of a subst. of every form, gender and termin., leaving it to the student to supply the remainder.

#### 1. Masculines in अ.

##### a) Short form: राम Rām.

	Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.
nom.	राम्	राम्	रामन्लोग् or रामन्लोग्
acc.	राम् or र <sup>०</sup> के	राम् or रामन् के	रामन्लोग् or <sup>०</sup> गन् के or रामन्लोग् or <sup>०</sup> के
instr.	राम् से	रामन् से	रामन्लोगन् से or रामन्लोग् से
dat.	राम् के	रामन् के	रामन्लोगन् के or रामन्लोग् के
abl.	राम् से	रामन् से	रामन्लोगन् से or रामन्लोग् से
gen.	राम् कै, <sup>०</sup> के	रामन् कै, <sup>०</sup> के	रामन्लोगन् कै, <sup>०</sup> के or रामन्लोग् कै, <sup>०</sup> के
loc.	राम् मे	रामन् मे	रामन्लोगन् मे or रामन्लोग् मे
voc.	हे राम्	हे राम्	हे रामन्लोग् or हे रामन्लोग्

##### b) Long form: राम्वा or राम्वाँ.

nom.	राम्वा	राम्वा	राम्वालोग् or राम्वाँलोग्
acc.	राम्वा or र <sup>०</sup> के	राम्वा or राम्वाँन् के	राम्वालोग् or <sup>०</sup> गन् के or राम्वाँलोग् or र <sup>०</sup> के
instr.	राम्वा से	राम्वाँन् से	राम्वालोगन् से or राम्वाँलोग् से
dat.	राम्वा के	राम्वाँन् के	राम्वालोगन् के or राम्वाँलोग् के
abl.	राम्वा से	राम्वाँन् से	राम्वालोगन् से or राम्वाँलोग् से
gen.	राम्वा कै, <sup>०</sup> के	राम्वाँन् कै, <sup>०</sup> के	राम्वालोगन् कै, <sup>०</sup> के or राम्वाँलोग् कै, <sup>०</sup> के

	Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.
loc.	रमन्वा मे	रमन्वन् मे	रमन्वालोमन् मे or रमन्वन्लोम मे
voc.	हे रमन्वा	हे रमन्वा	हे रमन्वालोम or हे रमन्वन्लोम
c) Redundant form: रमौवा or रमौवा or रमौवाँ or रमौवाँ.			
nom.	रमौवा	रमौवा	रमौवालोम or रमौवन्लोम
acc.	रमौवा or र <sup>०</sup> के	रमौवा or वन् के	रमौवालोम or गन् के or रमौवन्लोम or र <sup>०</sup> के
instr.	रमौवा से	रमौवन् से	रमौवालोमन् से or रमौवन्लोम से
dat.	रमौवा के	रमौवन् के	रमौवालोमन् के or रमौवन्लोम के
abl.	रमौवा से	रमौवन् से	रमौवालोमन् से or रमौवन्लोम से
gen.	रमौवा कै, <sup>०</sup> के	रमौवन् कै, <sup>०</sup> के	रमौवालोमन् कै, <sup>०</sup> के or रमौवन्लोम कै, <sup>०</sup> के
loc.	रमौवा मे	रमौवन् मे	रमौवालोमन् मे or रमौवन्लोम मे
voc.	हे रमौवा	हे रमौवा	हे रमौवालोम or हे रमौवन्लोम

*Note:* The long and redundant forms in अ may be pronounced with a final *anunāsika* (see §§ 195. 365, 4); thus gen. रमन्वाँ कै or रमौवाँ कै, etc. — Subst. which do not denote *rational* beings, can not form the comp. pl. (see § 361); thus gen. घरन् कै of houses, बाघन् कै of tigers, not घरलोमन् कै, बाघलोमन् कै.

## 2. Masculines in अ.

### a) Short form: बेटा son.

	Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.
nom.	बेटा	बेटा	बेटालोम or बेटन्लोम
gen.	बेटा कै, <sup>०</sup> के, etc.	बेटन् कै, <sup>०</sup> के, etc.	बेटालोमन् कै, <sup>०</sup> के or बेटन्लोम कै, <sup>०</sup> के, etc.

### b) Long form: बेटन्वा or बेटन्वाँ.

nom.	बेटन्वा	बेटन्वा	बेटन्वालोम or बेटन्वन्लोम
gen.	बेटन्वा कै, <sup>०</sup> के, etc.	बेटन्वन् कै, <sup>०</sup> के, etc.	बेटन्वालोमन् कै, <sup>०</sup> के or बेटन्वन्लोम कै, <sup>०</sup> के, etc.

### c) Redundant form: बेटौवा or बेटौवाँ, etc.

nom.	बेटौवा.	बेटौवा	बेटौवालोम or बेटौवन्लोम
gen.	बेटौवा कै, <sup>०</sup> के, etc.	बेटौवन् कै, <sup>०</sup> के, etc.	बेटौवालोमन् कै, <sup>०</sup> के or बेटौवन्लोम कै, <sup>०</sup> के, etc.

## 3. Masculines in इ.

### a) Short form: रिषि rikhi patriarch.

nom.	रिषि	रिषि	रिषिलोम or रिषिन्लोम
gen.	रिषि कै, <sup>०</sup> के, etc.	रिषिन् कै, <sup>०</sup> के, etc.	रिषिलोमन् कै, <sup>०</sup> के, etc. or रिषिन्लोम कै, <sup>०</sup> के, etc.

b) Long form: रिषिया or रिषियाँ.

Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.
nom. रिषिया	रिषिया	रिषियालोग् or रिषियन्लोग्
gen. रिषिया कै, °के, etc.	रिषियन् कै, °के, etc.	रिषियालोगन् कै, °के or रिषियन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

c) Redundant form: रिषियवा or रिषियवाँ.

nom. रिषियवा	रिषियवा	रिषियवालोग् or रिषियवन्लोग्
gen. रिषियवा कै, °के, etc.	रिषियवन् कै, °के, etc.	रिषियवालोगन् कै, °के or रिषियवन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

#### 4. Masculines in ई.

a) Short form: भाई brother.

nom. भाई	भाई	भाईलोग् or भाइन्लोग्
gen. भाई कै, °के, etc.	भाइन् कै, °के, etc.	भाईलोगन् कै, °के or भाइन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

b) Long form: भइया or भैया or भइयाँ or भैयाँ.

nom. भैया	भैया	भैयालोग् or भैयन्लोग्
gen. भैया कै, °के, etc.	भैयन् कै, °के, etc.	भैयालोगन् कै, °के or भैयन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

c) Redundant form: भैयवा or भैयवाँ.

nom. भैयवा	भैयवा	भैयवालोग् or भैयवन्लोग्
gen. भैयवा कै, °के, etc.	भैयवन् कै, °के, etc.	भैयवालोगन् कै, °के or भैयवन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

#### 5. Masculines in उ.

a) Short form: तर् tree.

nom. तर्	तर्	deest.
gen. तर् कै, °के, etc.	तर्न् कै, °के, etc.	

b) Long form: तर्वा or तर्घा or तर्वाँ or तर्घाँ.

nom. तर्घा	तर्घा	deest.
gen. तर्घा कै, °के, etc.	तर्घन् कै, °के, etc.	

c) Redundant form: तर्घवा or तर्घवाँ.

nom. तर्घवा	तर्घवा	deest.
gen. तर्घवा कै, °के, etc.	तर्घवन् कै, °के, etc.	

#### 6. Masculines in उ.

a) Short form: नाड barber.

nom. नाड	नाड	नाडलोग् or नाडन्लोग्
gen. नाड कै, °के, etc.	नाडन् कै, °के, etc.	नाडलोगन् कै, °के or नाडन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

b) Long form: नउअ or नौअ or नौवा or नउअँ etc.

Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.
nom. नौवा	नौवा	• नौवालोग् or नौवन्लोग्
gen. नौवा कै, °के, etc.	नौवन् कै, °के, etc.	नौवालोगन् कै, °के or नौवन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

c) Redundant form: नउअवा or नौअवा or नौअवाँ, etc.

nom. नौअवा	नौअवा	नौअवालोग् or नौअवन्लोग्
gen. नौअवा कै, °के, etc.	नौअवन् कै, °के, etc.	नौअवालोगन् कै, °के or नौअवन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

### 7. Feminines in अ.

a) Short form: अत् word, thing, event.

nom. अत्	अत्	
gen. अत् कै, °के, etc.	अतन् कै, °के, etc.	deest.

b) Long form: अतिया or अतियाँ.

nom. अतिया	अतिया	
gen. अतिया कै, °के, etc.	अतियन् कै, °के, etc.	deest.

c) Redundant form: अतियवा or अतियवाँ.

nom. अतियवा	अतियवा	
gen. अतियवा कै, °के, etc.	अतियवन् कै, °के, etc.	deest.

### 8. Feminines in आ.

a) Short form: दुर्गा Durgā.

nom. दुर्गा	दुर्गा	दुर्गालोग् or दुर्गन्लोग्
gen. दुर्गा कै, °के, etc.	दुर्गन् कै, °के, etc.	दुर्गालोगन् कै, °के or दुर्गन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

b) Long form: दुर्गिया or दुर्गियाँ.

nom. दुर्गिया	दुर्गिया	दुर्गियालोग् or दुर्गियन्लोग्
gen. दुर्गिया कै, °के, etc.	दुर्गियन् कै, °के, etc.	दुर्गियालोगन् कै, °के or दुर्गियन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

c) Redundant form: दुर्गियवा or दुर्गियवाँ.

nom. दुर्गियवा	दुर्गियवा	दुर्गियवालोग् or दुर्गियवन्लोग्
gen. दुर्गियवा कै, °के, etc.	दुर्गियवन् कै, °के, etc.	दुर्गियवालोगन् कै, °के or दुर्गियवन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

### 9. Feminines in इ.

a) Short form: अग्नि fire.

nom. अग्नि	अग्नि	
gen. अग्नि कै, °के, etc.	अग्निन् कै, °के, etc.	deest.



b) Long form: अगिया or अगियाँ.

	Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.
nom.	अगिया	अगिया	
gen.	अगिया कै, °के, etc.	अगियन् कै, °के, etc.	deest.

c) Redundant form: अगियवा or अगियवाँ.

nom.	अगियवा	अगियवा	
gen.	अगियवा कै, °के, etc.	अगियवन् कै, °के, etc.	deest.

### 10. Feminines in ई.

a) Short Form: लाठी staff.

nom.	लाठी	लाठी	
gen.	लाठी कै, °के, etc.	deest (§ 362, exc.)	deest.

b) Long form: लठिया or लठियाँ.

nom.	लठिया	लठिया	
gen.	लठिया कै, °के, etc.	लठियन् कै, °के, etc.	deest.

c) Redundant form: लठियवा or लठियवाँ.

nom.	लठियवा	लठियवा	
gen.	लठियवा कै, °के, etc.	लठियवन् कै, °के, etc.	deest.

### 11. Feminines in ऊ.

a) Short form: बहु daughter-in-law.

nom.	बहु	बहु	बहुलोग्	or	बहुन्लोग्
gen.	बहु कै, °के, etc.	बहुन् कै, °के, etc.	बहुलोगन् कै, °के	or	बहुन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

b) Long form: बहुवा or बहुआ or बहुआँ, etc.

nom.	बहुआ	बहुआ	बहुआलोग्	or	बहुआन्लोग्
gen.	बहुआ कै, °के, etc.	बहुआन् कै, °के, etc.	बहुआलोगन् कै, °के	or	बहुआन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

c) Redundant form: बहुअवा or बहुअवाँ.

nom.	बहुअवा	बहुअवा	बहुअवालोग्	or	बहुअवन्लोग्
gen.	बहुअवा कै, °के, etc.	बहुअवन् कै, °के, etc.	बहुअवालोगन् कै, °के	or	बहुअवन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

## SECOND CHAPTER. THE ADJECTIVE.

## 1. FORMS OF THE ADJECTIVE.

380. Every adj. admits of three forms: the short, long and redundant. The short is the primary form, which is given in the dictionaries and by which it is generally known. The other two are more or less vulgar. The latter are made by adding to the weak form (see § 381) the pleon. suff. of the second, third and fifth sets of the first group, as explained in §§ 198. 199. Thus, *masc.*, sh. f. मोट् *thick*, lg. f. मोटक्का or मोटका, red. f. मोटक्कावा or मोटकवा; *fem.*, sh. f. मोट्, lg. f. मोटक्की or मोटकी, red. f. मोटक्किया or मोटकिया; *masc.*, sh. f. बड्ग *great*, lg. f. बड्गक्का or बड्गका, red. f. बड्गक्कावा or बड्गकवा; *fem.*, sh. f. बड्गे, lg. f. बड्गक्की or बड्गकी, red. f. बड्गक्किया or बड्गकिया; *com. gen.*, sh. f. भारी *heavy*, lg. f. *masc.* भरिक्का or भरिका, *fem.* भरिक्की or भरिकी, red. f. *masc.* भरिक्कावा or भरिकवा, *fem.* भरिक्किया or भरिकिया; *com. gen.*, sh. f. गर *heavy*, lg. f. *masc.* गरक्का or गरका, *fem.* गरक्की or गरकी, red. f. *masc.* गरक्कावा or गरकवा, *fem.* गरक्किया or गरकिया, etc.

381. All adj. of the short form in अ admit of two forms, a weak and a strong. The weak form ends in अ and is the original one; the strong form is made by adding to this the pleon. suff., ई m., ई f., of the first set of the first group, as explained in § 196. Thus, *masc.*, wk. f. लाम् *long*, st. f. लामा; *fem.*, wk. f. लाम्, st. f. लामी; or wk. f., *com. gen.*, उच् *high*, st. f. *masc.* उचा, *fem.* उची, etc. Adj. in ई and ऊ exist only in the strong form; their weak forms in इ and उ are obsolete. Thus st. f., *com. gen.*, भारी *heavy*, हल् *light*; the wk. f. भारि, हर or हल् occur in O. H. (Tulsí Dás).

382. The adj. of the strong form in ई admit of two forms, the contracted and uncontracted. The latter is made by adding the pleon. suff. इउँ to the former, see § 197. Thus भारी or भारिउँ *heavy*. Of the uncontracted a long form भरिउँका m., भरिउँकी f., may be made, but no redundant form.

383. When adj. are used as subst. or parts of proper names, their long and redundant forms are made exactly like those of real subst. Thus सेठ-वा (not सेठ-का), lg. f. of सेठ् a name of a caste (lit. *best*, Skr. श्रेष्ठ); or मिठवा नाम् the name of a species of mangoe, but मिठका नाम् any sweet mangoe.

## 2. GENDER.

384. Adj., like subst., have only two genders, masc. and fem. Strong and long adj. change, in the fem., the final वा to ई, and redundant adj. अवा to इया (see §§ 258 ff.). In other adj. the two genders are identical in form. Thus the wk. f. मोट् *sweet*, छोट् *small*, etc., and the st. f. भारी *heavy*, हलू *light*, etc. are *gen. com.*; but st. f. *masc.* मोठा, छोटा, *fem.* मोठी, छोटी, etc., and lg. f. *masc.* मिठका or मिठका, *fem.* मिठकी or मिठकी, etc., and red. f. *masc.* मिठका, *fem.* मिठकी, etc.

385. *Affinities and Derivation.* All other Gds. have, like the E. H., a fem. in ई for their strong forms in वा (E. and S. Gd. and P.) or ओ or औ (W. and N. Gd.). Thus *masc. B., O., W. H.* काला, E. H. कारा *black*, M., P. काळा, G. काळो, S. कारो; *fem. B., O., W. H.* काली, M., P., G. काळी, E. H., S. कारी, etc. But the B. and O., as a rule, and even the E. H. not unfrequently, dispense with the use of strong adj. in वा. In S. the weak forms in उ (corresp. to अ in the other Gds.) have a fem. in इ or अ (Tr. 99. 152); in all other Gds. the fem. ends in अ; thus S. अधु *half*, *fem.* अध or अधि, but E. H., B., O., G. *masc. or fem.* अध. In E. H., however, the fem. wk. f. in इ is preserved in the part., when the latter are used to form participial tenses (see §§ 502 ff.); thus *fem.* कर्ति, of *masc.* कर्त् doing, in the 2. sg. pret. conj. कर्तिस् if thou didst (*fem.*); or कइलि *fem.*, of कइल्, in the 2. sg. pret. ind. कइलिस् thou didst; कइलि *fem.*, of कइल्, in the 2. sg. fut. ind. कइलिस् thou wilt do, etc. In H. H. the weak fem. in अ and इ cannot properly be used. In Skr., adj. in अ generally form their fem. in आ; but in Pr. they may optionally have a fem. in आ or ई (Vr. 5, 24. H. C. 3, 32), which become अ or इ in Gd.

(see §§ 42. 43). As to the derivation of the fem. term. ई and इया see § 262.

### 3. DECLENSION.

386. Adj. are declined precisely like subst., with the following exceptions: 1) strong adj. in आ change it to ए in the obl. form sg. and pl. — 2) long adj. in का or क्का change आ to ऊ in the voc. sg., and also throughout the plur., if the adj. is used in a derisive sense (i. e. परिहस्ये). Thus, *dir. form, nom. sg.* ई मोठा आम्र बाटै *this is a sweet mango*; *obl. form, acc. sg.* उ मोटे आम्र के खैलेस् *he ate a sweet mango*; *dir. f., nom. sg.* उ मिठका आम्र बाटै *that is a sweet mango*; *obl. f., acc. sg.* उ मिठके आम्र के खैलेस् *he ate a sweet mango*; *dir. f., nom. sg.* ओकरू अहा घोरा बाटै *his is a good horse*; *obl. f., loc. sg.* उ अहे घोरा पर चढल् बाटै *he is mounted on a good horse*. Again, *dir. f., nom. pl.* ई मोठा आम्र बाटै *these are sweet mangoes*; *obl. f., acc. pl.* उ मोटे आम्र के खैलेस् *he ate sweet mangoes*; *dir. f., nom. pl.* उ मिठका आम्र बाटै *those are sweet mangoes*; *obl. f., acc. pl.* उ मिठके आम्र के खैलेस् *he ate sweet mangoes*; *dir. f., nom. pl.* ओकरू अहा घोरा बाटै *his are good horses*; *obl. f., loc. pl.* उ अहे घोरे पर चढल् बाटै *they are mounted on good horses*.

387. *Affinities.* The M. and Br. agree with the E. H. in inflecting, in the sing., their strong adj. in आ differently from their strong subst. in आ. While the termination of the obl. sing. of subst. is आ in E. H. and Br. and या in M., that of the obl. form of adj. is ए in all three. In the other Gds. the adj. does not differ from the subst. in the obl. sg. Thus, gen. sg., E. H. बडे घोरा कै *of a big horse*, Br. बडे घोडा कौ, M. बडे घोड्या चा; but Mw. बडा घोडा रो, G. बडा घोडा नो, P. बडे घोडे दा, S. बडे घोडे तो, B. बडा घोडा-रू, etc. In all Gds. the obl. form of adj. is the same in both plur. and sing., except in S., where their obl. f. pl. may be optionally like that of the subst. (Tr. 145); thus, gen. pl., E. H. बडे घोरा कै *of big horses*, Br. बडे घोडा कौ, M. बडे घोड्या चा, Mw. बडा घोडा रो, G. बडा घोडा नो, P. बडे घोडिआँ दा, S. बडे घोडे तो

or बड़े धोड़े तो, etc. It must, of course, be understood, that if an adj. is used substantively, and not attributively, it is declined in every respect like a real subst.; and that in all Gds.

#### 4. COMPARISON.

388. The degrees of comparison cannot be indicated by any change in the (positive) form. The comparative is expressed by putting the object with which another is compared in the abl. (made with the aff. से), and the superlative by prefixing to the adj. either the adj. itself or the pron. सब् all in the abl. case; e. g., ओकरे मोट् बर्दा से मोर् बर्दा बड़ा बरै *my bullock is better than his fat bullock*; ओह् से बड़ा *greater than he*; ई सब् से मिठका आम् बरै *this is the sweetest mangoe*, lit., this is a mangoe sweet (compared) with all (others); अच्छी से अच्छी तरकारी *the best vegetable*; अच्छे से अच्छे चाउरू के भात् *the best (cooked) rice*. Sometimes, however, the comp. is expressed by the long form of the adj. (see § 198), as it emphasizes its meaning. Thus के बड़का बरै *which is the elder one*; ऊ छोटका बरै *that is the younger one*.

389. *Affinities*. In all Gds. the comp. and superlat. degrees are formed precisely as in E. H.; see S. Ch. 83. Sn. 21. Man. 40, 78. note 1. Ld. 15. Ed. 45, 97. 98. Tr. 156. Thus, comparative, E. H. ओह् से बड़ा *greater than he*, B. ताहा हइते बड़, O. ताहा-ह् बड़, M. त्याहून् बड़ा, Br. वा सोँ बड़ो, Mw. उण् सँ बड़ो, G. आ धी बड़ो, P. उह् ते बड़ा, S. हुन खाँ बड़ो; and superlat., E. H. सब् से बड़ा *greatest*, B. सकल हइते बँ, O. सकल-ह् बँ, M. सर्वाहून् बँ, Br. सब् सोँ बँ, Mw. सब् सँ बँ, G. सभ धी बँ, P. सब् ते बँ, S. सभ खाँ बँ.

### THIRD CHAPTER. THE NUMERAL.

390. There are various kinds of numerals in E. H., as cardinals, ordinals, multiplicatives, collectives, reduplicatives, fractionals, beside which there are some others, as proportionals, subtractives, distributives, indefinitives, which are expressed by various modes of paraphrase.

## 1. CARDINALS.

391. Their forms from *one* to *hundred* are the following:

1. एक	21. ऐकइस्	41. ऐकतालिस्	61. ऐकसठि	81. ऐक्यासी
2. दुइ	22. बाइस्	42. ब्यालिस्	62. बासठि	82. ब्यासी
3. तीनि	23. तेइस्	43. तैतालिस्	63. तिरसठि	83. तिरासी
4. चारि	24. चौबिस्	44. चौवालिस्	64. चौसठि	84. चौरासी
5. पाँच	25. पचीस्	45. पैतालिस्	65. पैसठि	85. पचासी
6. छ	26. छडिबिस्	46. छियालिस्	66. छाछठि	86. छियासी
7. सात्	27. सताइस्	47. सैतालिस्	67. सरसठि	87. सत्तासी
8. आठ	28. अठाइस्	48. अठतालिस्	68. अठसठि	88. अठ्ठासी
9. नौ	29. ओनतिस्	49. ओनचास्	69. ओनहत्तर	89. नवासी
10. दस्	30. तीस्	50. पचास्	70. सत्तर	90. नब्बे
11. ऐग्यारह	31. ऐकतिस्	51. ऐक्यावन्	71. ऐखत्तर	91. ऐक्यानबे
12. बारह	32. बतिस्	52. बावन्	72. बहत्तर	92. ब्यानबे
13. तेरह	33. तैतिस्	53. तिरपन्	73. तिहत्तर	93. तिरानबे
14. चौदह	34. चौतिस्	54. चौवन्	74. चौहत्तर	94. चौरानबे
15. पन्तरह	35. पैतिस्	55. पंचावन्	75. पछत्तर	95. पंचानबे
16. सोरह	36. छत्तिस्	56. छप्पन्	76. छिहत्तर	96. छानबे
17. सत्तरह	37. सैतिस्	57. सत्तावन्	77. सथत्तर	97. सत्तानबे
18. अठारह	38. अठतिस्	58. अठ्ठावन्	78. अठत्तर	98. अठ्ठानबे
19. ओनइस्	39. ओनतालिस्	59. ओनसठि	79. ओनसी	99. निनानबे
20. बीस्	40. चालिस्	60. साठि	80. अस्सी	100. सौ

392. Some of the cardinal numbers admit one or more slightly different forms; but those marked with an asterisk are used only in the multiplication table, and those marked with two asterisks, only in the formation of cardinals above a *hundred*; thus:

1. यक्	*5. पच्* or	11. इग्यारह or	38. अरतिस् or	54. चौघन् or
2. दो*	पाच्	ग्यारह	अठतिस्	चउघन्
3. तिन्* or	6. छह* or	15. पन्तरह	44. चवालिस् or	55. पचपन्
तीन्	छ्व	24. चवबिस् or	चउआलिस्	67. सत्तसठि or
4. चर्* or	7. सत्*	चउबिस्	48. अरतालिस् or	सतसठि
चार	8. अट्	30. तिस्*	अठतालिस्	68. अरसठि

71. ऐकहत्तर	78. अठहत्तर or	95. पनचानबे	100. सै ** or
75. पचहत्तर	अठन्नत्तर *	99. निन्नानबे or	सो ** or
77. सतहत्तर	84. चवरासी	निग्यानबे	सल्

The final syllables °बिस्, °तिस्, °लिस् may, optionally, be spelled . °बीस्, °तीस्, °लीस्; thus 24 चौबिस् or चौबीस्, 33 तै°तिस् or तै°तीस्, 40 चालिस् or चालीस्; but 21 ऐकइस्, not ऐकईस्; 23 only तेइस्, not तेईस्. Again all numbers of the seventh decade may drop the final इ; thus 60 साठि or साठ्, 66 षाड्ढि or षाड्ढ्, etc. Again the initial syllable ओन्° may also be spelled वन्°; thus 19 ओनइस् or वनइस्, 79 ओनासी or वनासी.

393. All cardinals above a hundred are formed by sub-joining the lower number to the higher without any intervening conjunction; thus:

101. एक सै एक	103. एक सै तीन	105. एक सै पाँच्	210. दुइ सै दस्
102. एक सै दुइ	104. एक सै चार	200. दुइ सै	220. दुइ सै बीस्
	300. तीन सै	1000. सहस्र	
	400. चार सै	100,000. लाख	
		10,000,000. कोटि	

1874. एक सहस्र आठ सै चौहत्तर  
2,154,210. ऐकइस् लाख चौबन् सहस्र दुइ सै दस्, etc.

394. The cardinals between one hundred and two hundred are differently formed, when employed in the multiplication table (पहाडा)\*. Namely up to 120 the higher number is subjoined to the lower one with which it is compounded by means of उतर above, the initial उ of the latter combining with the final अ of the preceding word to ओ (ओतर); thus 108 is अठोतरसो, i. e., अठ + उतर + सो eight-above-hundred. From 120 and optionally from 110 up to 160 and optionally up to 170, the connecting vowel आ is interposed, instead of उतर, except in the fifth decade where चालिस् forty is curtailed to चाल्. In the rest the original form remains unchanged. Moreover, in the second, third and fourth decade the penultimate short vowel is lengthened. The accent is always on the antepenultimate of the whole compound;

e. g., 161 *eksāṭṭhāso*, 152 *bavānnāso*, 112 *barāhāso*, etc. Thus the forms of these cardinals are the following :

101. ऐकोत्तरसो	117. सतराहासो	140. चालसो	170. सत्रसो
102. दिलोत्तरसो	118. अठराहासो	141. ऐकतालसो, etc.	171. एखन्नसो
103. तिलोत्तरसो	119. ओनैसासो	149. ओनचासासो	179. ओन्नासीसो
104. चलोत्तरसो	120. बीसासो	150. डेडसो	180. अस्सीसो
105. पिचोत्तरसो	121. ऐकैसासो	151. ऐक्यवन्नासो	181. ऐक्यासीसो
106. हिलोत्तरसो	122. बइसासो	152. बन्नसो	189. नवासीसो
107. सतलोत्तरसो	123. तेइसासो	153. तिरपन्नासो	190. नब्बेसो
108. अठोत्तरसो	124. चाओसासो	154. चौबन्नासो	191. ऐक्यानबेसो
109. निगरोत्तरसो	125. पचीसासो	155. पनचोनासो	192. बानबेसो
110. दहोत्तरसो	126. इच्छीसासो	156. इपन्नासो	193. तिरानबेसो
111. ऐगरोत्तरसो	127. सत्तेसासो	157. सतवन्नासो	194. चोरानबेसो
112. बरहोत्तरसो	128. अठैसासो	158. अठवन्नासो	195. पनचानबेसो
113. तेरहोत्तरसो	129. ओनतीसासो	159. ओनसट्ठासो	196. बानबेसो, etc.
114. चौदहोत्तरसो	130. तीसासो	160. साठसो	199. निनानबेसो
115. पनराहासो	131. ऐकतीसासो, etc.	161. ऐकसट्ठासो, etc.	200. दुइसो
116. सोराहासो	139. ओनतालसो	169. ओनहन्नसो	

395. The following are alternative forms of some of the preceding cardinals :

101. इकोत्तरसो	113. तेराहासो	119. ओनइसासो	163. तिरसठसो
102. दियोत्तरसो	114. चौदाहासो	121. ऐकइसासो	164. चौसठसो
106. द्वियोत्तरसो	115. पन्दरहोत्तरसो	155. पचपन्नासो	165. पैसठसो
108. अठोत्तरसो	116. सोरहोत्तरसो	159. ओनसाठसो	166. हाइठसो
111. इगरोत्तरसो	117. सतरहोत्तरसो	161. ऐकसठसो	170. सत्रसिंसो
112. बराहासो	118. अठरहोत्तरसो	162. बासठसो	

396. *Affinities.* On the whole the numeral forms are very much alike in all Gds. There are, however, three main points of difference. In the first two the E. Gd. differs from the W. and S. Gd., in the third the W. Gd. from the E. and S. Gd. — Firstly; in E. Gd. the final syllable of the second, third, fourth and fifth decades is short (viz. अइ, इस्, त्रिस्, लिस्) but in W. Gd. it is long (viz. अँ or अहँ, ईस् or औस्, तीस्, लीस्), G. only being a partial exception; thus :



	O.	B.	E. H.	W. H.	P.
13.	तेर	तेर	तेरह्	तेरा	तेरँ
14.	चौद	चौदृ	चौदह्	चौदा	चौदँ
23.	तेइश्	तेइश्	तेइस्	तेइस्	तेई
24.	चविश्	चविश्	चौबिस्	चौबीस्	चौबी
32.	बत्रिश्	बत्रिश्	बतिस्	बतीस्	बती
46.	पईचालिश्	पयँतालिश्	पैतालिस्	पैतालीस्	पैताली
	S.	M.	G.	H. H.	
13.	तेरहँ	तेरा	तेर	तेरह्	
14.	चोउहँ	चौदा	चउद	चौदह्	
23.	देवीह	तेवीस	त्रेवीश्	तेईस्	
24.	चौवीह	चौबीस्	चौवीश्	चौबीस्	
32.	बट्टीह	बत्तीस्	बत्रिश्	बतीस्	
46.	पंजेतालीह	पंजेचालीस्	पञतालीश्	पैतालीस्	

Secondly; in E. Gd. a final short इ is retained, while in W. Gd. it is dropped, S. only being a partial exception; thus:

	O.	B.	E. H.	W. H.	P.	M.	G.	S.	H. H.
2.	दुइ	दुइ	दुइ	दो	दो	दोन्	बे	ब	दो
3.	तिनि	तिनि	तीनि	तीन्	तिन	तीन्	त्रण्	ट्रे	तीन्
4.	चारि	चारि	चारि	चार	चार	चार	चार	चारि	चार
60.	षाठि	षाठि	साठि	साठ	सठ	साठ	सठि	साठ	साठ

With regard to सत्तर *seventy* alone, all Gd. languages agree in dropping the final इ, excepting O. and S. which have सत्तोरि and सत्तरि respectively; and E. H. optionally in सत्तरि सै *seven hundred*. — Thirdly; in W. Gd. the syllable च, but in the E. and S. Gd. either the conjunct च् or the whole increment चन् of the Pr. चत्तालीस *forty* is always elided in the fifth decade. In this case E. H. occupies an intermediate position; thus:

	M.	O.	B.	E. H.	P.	S.	G.
41.	एकचालीस्	एकचालिश्	एकचलिश्	एकतालिस्	एकताली	एकतालीह	एकतलीश्
42.	बेचालीस्	बयालिश्	बेयालिश्	बयालिस्	बैताली	आएतालीह	बेतालीश्
43.	त्रेचालीस्	तेयालिश्	तेतालिश्	तेतालिस्	तैताली	ट्रेतालीह	तेतालीश्
44.	चव्वचालीस्	चौचालिश्	चोयालिश्	चौबालिस्	चौतालो	चोएतालीह	चुमालीश्

	M.	O.	B.	E. H.	P.	S.	G.
45.	पंचेचालीस्	पञ्चालिष्	पयंतालिष्	पै॑तालिस्	पै॑ताली	पंजतालीह्	पञ्जतालीष्
46.	षेचालीस्	इयालिष्	इचलिष्	इयालिस्	इिताली	इएतालीह्	इ॑तालीष्
47.	सत्तेचालीस्	सतचालिष्	सतचलिष्	सै॑तालिस्	सै॑ताली	सतेतालीह्	शुउतालीष्
48.	अठेचालीस्	अठचालिष्	अठचलिष्	अठतालिस्	अठताली	अठेतालीस्	अउतालीष्

Some minor differences are the following: 1) S. and P. change the final स् of ओस्, तीस्, लीस्, ज्ञास् into ह्, which is generally afterwards dropped by P.; thus S., P. वाह् 20, P. तीह् or त्रीह्, S. द्वीह् 30, S. द्वेवीह् 23, वद्वीह् 32, P. तेई or त्रेई, अती or अत्री, S. चालीह्, P. चाली 40, S., P. पंताह् 50, S. अवंताह्, P. अवंता 52, etc. Similarly these two languages alone change the initial स् of सार्ह् 60 into ह्; e. g., 61 P. इकाह्, S. एकहठि, while P. also changes ह् to ट् (see § 145, exc. 2). With regard to सत्तर् 70, again, all Gds. agree in changing the initial स् to ह्, except O.; thus 71 B. एकात्तर् (= \*एकधत्तर् = एकहत्तर्), E. H. एबत्तर् or एकहत्तर्, W. H. एकहत्तर्, P. इकहत्तर्, S. एकहत्तरि, M. एकाहत्तर्, but O. एकस्तुरि (= \*एकस्तुरि). — 2) M., G. and S. alone retain the initial व् of वीस् or वीह् 20 in compounds; see § 123, note. — 3) G., S., B. and optionally P. retain र् in त्रिष् or त्रीह् 30 and its compounds; as 31 B., G. एकत्रिष्, P. इकत्री or इकत्री, S. एकद्वीह्, 30 B., G. त्रिष्, P. तीह् or त्रीह्, S. द्वीह्, etc. — 4) B. alone doubles ल् in चलिष् 40 and its compounds, as एकचलिष् 41, etc. — 5) M. alone preserves the semitats. सट् 60 in compounds, as एकसट् 61, आसट् 62, etc.; but सार्ह् 60 (see Man. 43). — 6) P. alone forms optionally नभे॑ for नवे॑ 90 in compounds, as इकानवे॑ or इकानभे॑ 91, etc.; but नव्वे or नव्वे 90 (see Ld. 85). — 7) S. alone preserves the full termination अह्, while the others contract it to अ॑ or अ or shorten it to अह् or अ; thus 12 S. आरह्, but P. आर॑ (= \*आरह् = \*आरह्), M. आरा, W. H. आरा, or E. H. आरह्, B., O., G. आर.

397. *Derivation.* 1. एक् regularly for Pr. एक्को (Vr. 3, 58. § 143); as to the forms यक्, ऐक् and इक् see §§ 170. 171. Pr. has also the forms एगो (H. C. 1, 176) and एजो (H. C. 2, 99); the latter does not occur in E. H., but the former in compounds; e. g., ऐगरोत्तसो 111 or shortened इग्, e. g., इगरोत्तसो 111. —

2. दुइ regularly for Pr. दुए (Ls. 318, see § 45) or दुवे (Vr. 6, 57); the Mg. Pr. has दुवे or दो or दोन्नि (Wb. Bh. 424. see H. C. 3, 130); the first is preserved in E. H., B., O. दुइ, the second in E. H. दो (§ 392), the third in M. दोन् and S. दूँ (Tr. 158); Pr. has also the form दो (H. C. 3, 120) which is preserved in the G. दो and S. दो; the P. and W. H. have दो. — 3. तीन regularly for Pr. तिस्सि (Vr. 6, 56. cf. §§ 143. 147). — 4. चारि see § 153. — Pr. दुवे or दोस्सि, तिस्सि, चत्तारि are gen. comm. (Vr. 3, 56. 57. 58); but they appear to have arisen from the Skr. neut. द्वे or \*द्वानि, त्रीणि, चत्वारि respectively (see Ls. 318. 319). The Skr. masc. द्वौ is perhaps represented by the Pr. and Gd. दो. Mg. Pr. has a masc. तसो (Wb. Bh. 475) = Skr. त्रयः *three*, but it has not survived in Gd. Pr. has also the masc. चत्तारो (Skr. चत्वारः nom.) and चउरो (= Skr. चतुरः acc., see M. M. 124) H. C. 3, 122. Wb. Bh. 425, but they do not occur in Gd.; the latter, however, survives in the Ksh. चोर *tsor* (Bs. II, 132). — 5. पाँच् or पाच्, 7 सात्, 8 आह् regularly for Pr. पंच, सत्त, अट् = Skr. पञ्च, सप्त, अष्ट (see §§ 143. 147); S. and P. have पंत, P. सत्त, अट्, S. सत्त, अत्त, B. आट. — 6. इ, also Pr. इ (Wb. Bh. 425. Ls. 319) for Skr. षट्, eliding final ट् (Vr. 4, 6) and changing ष् to इ (Vr. 2, 41); also W. H., S. and G. इ; E. H. has a form इह which occurs also in S. इह, M. सहा and Ksh. शिह (Bs. II, 132) and which represents perhaps the Skr. form षष्, Pr. \*इस or \*इह with final श (cf. Ls. 220. H. C. 1, 19. cf. M. दहा 10). E. H. has also a form इव् corresponding to B. इव्, O. इव, W. H. and P. इे, with euphonic व् or य् for elided इ; Pr. has also इव see Ls. 320. — 9. नौ or नउ regularly for Pr. नव, Pr. has also नव (Ls. 320) which does not occur in E. H., but in O. नव and B. नय; P. नौ and S. नौँ add an *anunásika*. — 10. दस् regularly for Mg. Pr. दस (Wb. Bh. 426. H. C. 1, 262), Skr. दश; Pr. has also दह (Vr. 2, 44) which is only preserved in P. दह (also दस्), S. उह, M. दहा, Ksh. दह (Bs. II, 133). — As the latter part of the compound numerals of the second decade, Skr. दश becomes in Pr. दह or उह or रह (H. C. 1, 219), in Gd. दह or लह or रह. Thus 11 Skr. एकादश, Pr. \*एगारह,

E. H. ऐयार्ह or इयार्ह or ग्यार्ह. As to its euphonic य्, see § 135; it is more properly W. Gd.; for B. एगार्, O. एगार्, M. वक्कार् have it not; while W. H. ग्यार्ह, P. गिच्चार्त्त, G. अगिच्चार् have it. The other P. form एच्चार्ह (Vr. 2, 44) occurs only in S. गार्ह. The Pr. has also दस्, रस् (Wb. Bh. 426. H. C. 3, 123), which have not survived in Gd. — 12. Skr. दादश, Pr. वार्ह (Vr. 2, 44), E. H. वार्ह, B., O., G. वार्, M., W. H. वार्ग, P. वार्त्त, S. वार्ह. — 13. Skr. त्रयोदश, Pr. तेर्ह (i. e. त्रयोदश for त्रयः + दश cf. H. C. 1, 165)<sup>1</sup>), E. H. तेर्ह; other Gds. see § 396. — 14. Skr. चतुर्दश, Pr. चउर्ह (Vr. 2, 14. H. C. 1, 171), E. H. चौर्ह; other Gds. see § 396. — 15. Skr. पञ्चदश, Pr. पञ्चार्ह (H. C. 2, 43, but पञ्चार्हो Vr. 3, 44), E. H. पनर्ह (§ 392 and in पनराहासो 115, see § 394); so also B. पनेर् (perhaps rather for the Pr. form पञ्चार्ह, see Ls. 320. Cw. 24, note); the usual Gd. form, however, inserts an euphonic द् (§ 135), as E. H. पंदर्ह, O. पंदर्, W. H. पंदर्ग, P. पंदर्त्त, S. पंदर्ह or पंर्ह, M. पंर्ग, G. पंदर्. — 16, see § 105, note, E. H. सोर्ह, B. सोल, O. सोहल (with a strange metathesis), W. H. सोला, M. सोळा, P. सोलत्त, S. सोर्ह, G. सोळ. — 17. Skr. सप्तदश, Pr. सप्पर्ह (T. V. 1, 3. 42), E. H. सत्पर्ह; other Gds. see § 396. — 18. Skr. अष्टादश, Pr. अष्टार्ह (T. V. 1, 3. 42. cf. H. C. 3, 123), E. H. अठार्ह, G. अठार्, S. अउर्ह (cf. 38. 48 below); other Gds., as in § 396. — 19. Skr. उनविंशतिः, Mg. ऊनवीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), E. H. ओनइस्, W. H. उनीस्, B. ऊनिश्, O. उपाइश्; Skr. has also एकोनविंशतिः, Mg. एकूनवीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), only preserved in M. एकुणीस्, O. H. अगुनीस् and गुनीस्, G. ओगणीस्; the P. has उनीर्ह and S. उपाीर्ह or उपािवीर्ह with ह् for स् (see § 396). — As to 21 एकइस्, etc. see §§ 123. 129. The (apparently anomalous) अ in सप्ताइस् is probably (as Bs. I, 291) caused by the ancient accent of the oxytone *saptā*. Of all dissyll-

1) The Pr. form तेर्ह is explained in H. C. 1, 165 as containing a change of the first अ together with the following cons. and vowel to ए; that is, in Skr. त्रयोदश the first अ together with the following syllable यो (i. e. cons. य् + vow. ओ) becomes ए; hence तेर्ह. Cowell's view, therefore, (Cw. 121, note) as to the Pr. Gramm. theory is more correct than Beames' (II, 135).

labic numerals only *saptā* and *aṣṭā* are oxytone, all others are barytone, *ēka*, *pāñcha*, *nāva*, *dāśa*, etc.; now Gd. has *अ* in *सप्ताद्*, *अष्टाद्*, but *अ* or *ई* (for *अद्*) in *एकद्* (W. H. *एकोद्*) and *पञ्चोद्* (for *पचद्*, M. *पञ्चोद्*). In Skr. the influence of the accent is seen in *अष्टादश*, *अष्टाविंशति*, *अष्टात्रिंशत्*, etc.; but not in *सप्तदश*, *सप्तविं*, *सप्तत्रिंशत्*; in Pr. and Gd. both sets show it in the third decade, but neither set in all other decades; e. g., 37 *सैत्तिस्*, 38 *अत्तिस्*, 47 *सैत्तालिस्*, 48 *अत्तालिस्*, and in Skr., too, the accent of *अष्ट* only optionally influences the form after the first four decades; e. g., 48 *अष्टचत्वारिंशत्* or *अष्टाचत्वारिंशत्*, etc. — 20 *वीस्* regularly for Pr. *वीसा* (H. C. 1, 28) or *वीसई* (Md. 4, 3. Ls. 320), Skr. *विंशति*. — 30 *तीस्* regularly for Pr. *तीसा* (H. C. 1, 28) or *तीसआ* (Md. 4, 3. Ls. 320), Skr. *त्रिंशत्*. — 32 *अत्तिस्* regularly for Pr. *वन्नीसा* (T. V. 1, 4. 79), with *अ* on account of the following double *न्*, Skr. *द्वात्रिंशत्*. — 33 *तैत्तिस्* regularly for Pr. *तेन्नीसा* (H. C. 1, 165, see § 149), Skr. *त्रयस्त्रिंशत्*; M. has *तेहतीस्* (Man. 43) beside the regular *तेतीस्*. — 35 *वैत्तिस्* see § 156, W. H. *वैत्तीस्*, P. *वैत्ती*, G. *वैत्त्रिश्*; but M. *पस्तीस्* (Man. 43, for *पसतीस्* with *स्* for *च्*, cf. § 11) and S. *पञ्जद्रीह*. — 37 *सैत्तिस्* see § 153, also W. H. *सैत्तीस्*, P. *सैत्ती*, B. *सईत्त्रिश्*; but M. *सदतीस्* or *सततीस्*, G. *साउत्त्रिश्*, S. *सनद्रीह*. — 38. Skr. *अष्टात्रिंशत्*, Pr. *अट्टतीसा* (Wb. Bh. 426), O. *अठत्तिश्*, B. *आठत्तिश्*, S. *अठद्रीह*, P. *अठती*, M. *अठतीस्* or *अउतीस्*, E. H. *अठत्तिस्* (§ 113) or *अठत्तिस्* or *अर्त्तिस्* (§ 145, exc. 2), G. *आउत्त्रिश्*. — 40. E. H. *चालिस्* see § 153. — 41. Skr. *एकचत्वारिंशत्*, Pr. *एक्कचत्तालीसा* or (eliding *च*) \**एकअत्तालीसा* and (contracted according to Vr. 4, 1), E. H. *एकतालिस्*; this derivation is proved by the S. *एकेतालीह*, which is contracted from *एकयतालीह* with euph. *य्*. The usual explanation, identifying *°तालिस्* with *°चालिस्*, assumes a change of *च्* to *त्*; thus Pr. *एकचत्तालीसा* = *एकचत्तालीसा* = *एकचालीस्* = *एकतालिस्*; but such a change of *च्* to *त्* is not only intrinsically improbable, but also lacks all evidence. Similarly are formed 43 *तेत्तालिस्* (see § 152), 49 *ओन्तालिस्*, 45 *वैत्तालिस्* (see § 156), 47 *सैत्तालिस्*, 48 *अत्तालिस्* (see § 145, exc. 2). The latter is in Pr. also *अउयाले* (Wb. Bh. 412); here both the syllable *च cha* and the conjunct *न् ण* are elided; so also in

the Gd. forms: 42 बयालिस्, 44 चौबालिस्, 46 द्वियालिस् (see §§ 152. 153); as to the other Gds. see § 396, 3; Pr. has 42 वायालीसं (Wb. Bh. 412). — 50. Skr. पञ्चाशत्, Pr. \*पंचासा, E. H. पचास् (see §§ 143. 146); also W. H. पचास्, G., O. पचाश्, but the nasal is preserved in B. पंचास्, P. पंताह् and S. पंताह्. The common Pr. form is पञ्जासा (Vr. 3; 44. H. C. 2, 43); it is preserved in the M. पन्नास् 50 and in the curtailed form पन् or वन् of the compound numerals of the 6<sup>th</sup> decade of all Gds., exc. P. and S.; thus वन् in 52 E. H. बावन्, W. H., G. dto., O. बावन्, B. बाउन्, M. बावन्, Pr. बावसं (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. द्वापञ्चाशत्; 57. E. H., O., W. H., G. सतावन्, M. सत्तावन्, Pr. \*सत्तावसा or °सं, Skr. सप्तपञ्चाशत्; 58. E. H., O., W. H., G. अठावन्, M. अठावन्, Pr. \*अठवसं, Skr. अष्टापञ्चाशत्; 55. E. H., O., G. पंचावन्, M. पंचावन्, Pr. पंचावसा (H. C. 2, 174), Skr. पक्षपञ्चाशत्; B. contracts सातान् 57, अठान् 58, पंचान् 55. The other E. H. form पचपन्, which is also H. H., presupposes a Pr. form \*पंचप्पसा. There is another Pr. form पपावसा (H. C. 2, 174) or पपावन् (Wb. Bh. 426), but it has left no trace in Gd. Again पन् in 56 E. H., W. H. इप्पन्, O., G. इपन्, B. इपान्, M. इपन्, Pr. \*इप्पसा, Skr. षट्पञ्चाशत्; 53. E. H. त्रिपन्, W. H. त्रिपन् or त्रेपन्, G. त्रेपन, M. त्रेपन्, O. तेपन्, B. तिपान् presuppose a Ap. Pr. form \*त्रिप्पसा (cf. H. C. 4, 398), Skr. त्रिपञ्चाशत्; the common Pr. form तेवसा (H. C. 2, 174) does not occur in Gd.; 54. W. H., G. चोपन्, M. चोपन् or चौपन्, regularly for Pr. \*चउप्पसा, Skr. चतुःपञ्चाशत्; but in E. H. चौअन् or चउअन् or (with euph. व्) चौवन्, O. चउवन्, B. चोयान् the conjunct ए has been elided (see § 154). The unusual Pr. form पंचासा 50 is preserved in E. H. 49 अोनचास्, with the syllable प pa elided, precisely as च cha in अोनतालिस् 39 (see above); thus Skr. उनपञ्चाशत्, Pr. उपावंचासा or उपापंचासा, whence B. उनपंचास्, G. ओगपापचाश्, S. उपावञ्जाह्, P. उपावञ्जा or उपाञ्जा, O. उनंचाश्, E. H. अोनचास्; but M. regularly एकुपापन्नास्. Moreover it is used throughout in P. and S., thus S. द्वेवञ्जाह्, P. तिवञ्जा or तिव्वञ्जा 53; S. चोवञ्जाह्, P. चोवञ्जा or चुवञ्जा 54; S. पंजवञ्जाह्, P. पंचवञ्जा 55; S. इवञ्जाह्, P. द्विपञ्जा or द्विव्वञ्जा 56, etc. — 60. Skr. षष्टिः, Pr. सट्ठी (Wb. Bh. 426), E. H. साठि, B. साठि, M., G., W. H. साट्, P. सट्, S. सठि; the O. साठिए adds a pleonastic ए.

In the compounds, M. has सष्ट, S. हठि and P. हट, see § 396. Otherwise they differ little. But 61 is in P. इकाहट, 62 in O. बाघासठि with आ; 63. O., B. तेसठि, G. तेसाठ, W. H. त्रेसठ् or तिरसठ्, M. त्रेसष्ट, P. तेहट् or त्रेहट्, S. ट्रेहठि; 65. B. पयँसठि, M. पाँसष्ट, W. H. पैँसठ्, P. पैँहट्, but O. पंचसठि, G. पंचसाह्, S. पंजहठि; 66. O. इष्टसठि, M. सासष्ट, S. झाहठि, W. H. झियासह्, P. झियाहट्, B. झसठि; 67. E. H. सतसठि or सडसठि or सरसठि, M. सतसष्ट or सदसष्ट, W. H. सरसठ्, see § 107; the others retain त्, O. सतसठि, B. सातसठि, P. सवाहट्; 68. E. H. अडसठि or अरसठि, see § 145, exc. 2, M. अडसष्ट or अरुसष्ट, W. H. अडसठ् or अरसठ्, see § 145, exc. 2; but O. अठसठि, S. अठहठि, P. अठाहट्, B. अठसठि; 69. B. ऊनसन्नरू, all others regularly ०हन्नरू, see § 396. — In the Bh. the following curtailed forms occur, 62 वावट्ठि, 64 चोयट्ठि (but also चउसट्ठि), 66 झावट्ठि, and even 61 एगट्ठि, 67 सन्नट्ठि (Wb. Bh. 426), which (if trustworthy) may be explained by the intermediate change of स् to ह् (as in P. and S.) and subsequent elision of ह्. — 70. E. H. सन्नरू see § 108; so also in the other Gds. see § 396. In the compounds there is little difference, but 72 is in O. बाघासुरि, B. बाहान्नरू, S. बाहन्नरि, M. बाहन्नरू; 73. M. त्रेहन्नरू or त्राहन्नरू, B. तेहान्नरू, O. तेस्तुरि; 74. M. चोयँहन्नरू; 75. M. पंचेहन्नरू; 76. O. इष्टसुरि, B. झेयान्नरू, S. झाहन्नरि, M. ग्राहन्नरू or श्रेहन्नरू (see § 55); 77. B. सातान्नरू, M. सत्याहन्नरू or सत्रेहन्नरू, P. सतन्नरू; 78. B. घाठान्नरू, P. अठन्नरू, M. अठ्याहन्नरू or अठेहन्नरू. — 80. Skr. अशीतिः, but Pr. आसीई with आ (Wb. Bh. 426), and so in B. आशी; but E. H., W. H., P. अस्ती with double स्, which explains the आ of B.; in S. असी and O. अशी one स् has been elided; as to M. ऐँशी and G. ऐँसी, see § 148. In the compounds, which differ very little has all Gds. have आसी, exc. M., which आयँशी; thus 81. E. H. एक्यासी, M. एक्यायँशी; on the euph. य् see § 135. — 82. B. द्वियाशी, M. द्व्यायँशी, P., S. बिआसी, O. अयाशी, B., E. H., W. H. बय्यसी. — 86. O. झ्याशी, M. ज्ञायँशी, S. झ्हासी; 83. M. त्रायँशी, G. तेआसी or तासी; 84. Pr. चउरासी (Wb. Bh. 426), M. चौर्यँशी; 87, M. सत्यँयशी; 88. M. अठ्यायँशी; 89. M. नव्यायँशी, E. H., W. H. नवासी are Skr. नवाशीतिः; but M. has also एकुणानव्वद्, B. ऊननव्वद्, O. उणानउ, P. उणानवे, S. उणानवे = Skr. एकोननवतिः. — 90. Skr. नवतिः, Pr. नउए (Wb. Bh.

426), E. H. नब्बे, O. नबे, B. नब्बद्, M. नब्बद्, W. H. नब्बे, S. नबे, P. नब्बे or नब्बे; these Gd. forms seem to presuppose a Pr. form \*नब्बए; the origin of the final ए is obscure; so also is that of the connecting vowel आ which occurs in all the compounds of नबे, and is especially marked in S. and M.; e. g., 92. S. विद्यानबे, M. व्यासब; 93. S. द्विद्यानबे, M. व्यासब; 94. E. H. चौरानबे, S. चौरानबे, M. चौर्यासब, etc.; it occurs already in Pr. सत्तानउए 97 (Wb. Bh. 426), E. H. सतानबे, S. सतानबे, M. सत्यासब. — 99 is in S. नवानबे, B. निवानबद्, M. नव्यासब (with euph. वृ see § 135) for Skr. नवनवति; the E. H. and W. H. निनानबे or नियानबे apparently exchange न् for व्, though it might be also a modification of उ in the P. नडिन्नवे or नडिन्नवे (see § 396, 6) which are probably connected with the other S. forms नथानबे or वथानबे; for these as well as for the P. forms I know no satisfactory explanation. O. alone has वनेशत्, perhaps for Skr. उनशत्. — 100. E. H., W. H., S., G., P. सौ or सो is the Ap. Pr. सउ (cf. H. C. 4, 331), Skr. शतम्, and E. H., P. सै, B. श, O. शये, M. शै is the Mg. Pr. सन्न or सयं (Wb. Bh. 426); as to E. H. सल् see § 109. — The compounds above 100, formed with उन्न, occur also in M. (Man. 44) and S. (Tr. 165); in the latter they may be formed up to 200; they are also found in Pr. (see Wb. Bh. 427); in the Bh. the original ओ is reduced to उ, but Gd. preserves it; e. g., 107 सनुन्नरं सयं (Bh. 15\*), S. सतोत्तर्सौ; or Ap. Pr. पंचोत्तर्सउ, S. पंतोत्तर्सौ, E. H. पिचोत्तर्सौ (§ 55); 106. S. छहोत्तर्सौ, E. H. द्वियोत्तर्सौ or द्विलोत्तर्सौ (see § 55); the latter as well as 104 E. H. चलोत्तर्सौ (for चुलो°, cf. Pr. चुलसीत् 84 in Wb. Bh. 425), S. चोरोत्तर्सौ, 103 E. H. तिलोत्तर्सौ or तियो°, S. द्विरोत्तर्सौ, 102 E. H. दिलोत्तर्सौ or दियो° (see § 69), S. बिरोत्तर्सौ, M. दुवोन्नरं are formed anomalously; the Skr. would be षडुन्नशतं, चतुन्नरं, त्र्युन्नरं, द्व्युन्नरं. Very anomalous are the E. H. सतलोत्तर्सौ 107 (for \*सतोत्तर्सौ) and निगरोत्तर्सौ 119; there seems to be here some confusion with the forms of 111 and 117. — The other compounds formed with the connecting vowel आ occur also in S., which has ओ; e. g., 112. E. H. बाराहासौ, S. बारहासौ; 115. E. H. पनराहासौ, S. पन्द्राहासौ, etc. E. H. shortens the first आ by § 25, and lengthens



the second च, probably, for the sake of euphony. The first part of these compounds is probably a collective or aggregate numeral; see §§ 404. 405; e. g., E. H. तीसा, S. तीहो *a sum of thirty*, whence E. H. तीसा सो, S. तीहो सौ 130, i. e., *100 plus the sum of 30*, or E. H. तेरहौ, S. तेरहो *sum of thirteen*, whence E. H. तेराहासो, S. तेरहो सौ 113, etc.

398. *Declension.* All cardinals can be declined, when used as subst., in which case they are inflected like them; thus gen. pl. पाँचन् कै *of five*, etc. But दुइ *two* and तीनि *three* have a special form in these circumstances; viz. दूनो or दुन्हुन् or दुनहुन् *two* and तीनो *three*; thus gen. pl. दूनो कै or दुन्हुन् कै or दुनहुन् कै *of two*, तीनो कै *of three*. When they are used as adj., they are not inflected; thus पाँच जनन् कै *of five men*, दुइ जनन् कै *of two men*, तीनि जनन् कै *of three men*.

399. *Affinities and Derivation.* M. has special obl. forms दोहो, तिहो, चोहो for दोन् *two*, तीन् *three* and चार *four* (Man. 46). When used adjectively with *persons*, they are changed to दोघे m., दोघी f., दोघे n. *two*; similarly तिघे, तिघी, तिघे *three*, चौघे, चौघी, चौघे *four* (Man. 46). Otherwise the declension is regular; thus gen. एका चा *of one*, दोहो चा or दोघौ चा *of two*. — S. has the obl. forms बिनि or बी, दिनि or दी, चइनि or चई for ब *two*, दे *three*, चारि *four*; otherwise the declension is regular; thus gen. बिनि नो *of two*, पंजन नो *of five*, etc. (Tr. 169. 171). S. inflects the cardinals, when they are used adjectively (Tr. 171); as दहनि बैरिनि खे or दहे बैरिरे खे *to ten enemies*; बिनि or बी बैरिनि खे बी बैरिरे खे *to two enemies*. — In the E. H. form दुनहुन् the conjunct न्ह has been dissolved (see § 138). The second उ of दुन्हुन् is probably euphonic, for \*दुन्हन्. In this and the other E. H. and M. special obl. forms the plur. suff. has been apparently reduplicated. The Pr. gen. pl. is दोपहं or दोपहं *of two* (H. C. 3, 119), तिपहं *of three* (H. C. 3, 118), which are contr. in S. to बी, दी or slightly modified बिनि, दिनि; but E. H. दूनो or दुन्हुन्, M. दोहो would presuppose the Pr. form \*दोपहहुं or \*दोपहपह, etc.

## 2. ORDINALS.

• 400. The formation of the ordinals from the cardinals has been explained in §§ 263—266. They are treated in every respect like *adj.*, i. e., they admit of a weak and strong form (§ 381), and the latter has a fem. in ई or ईँ (§ 384) and an obl. masc. ए or एँ (§ 386). The following are the first seven ordinals of which some are formed peculiarly: *First*, wk. f. पहिल् or पहेल् c. g., or st. f. पहिला or पहेला or °लका m., °ली or °लकी f.; *second*, wk. f. दूसर् or दुसरब् c. g., or st. f. दुसरा or दुसरवाँ or दुसरका m., °री or °रईँ or °रकी f.; *third*, wk. f. तीसर् or तिसरब् c. g., or st. f. तिसरा or तिसरवाँ or तिसरका m., °री or °रईँ or °रकी f.; *fourth*, wk. f. चउथ् or चौथब् c. g., or st. f. चौथा or चौथवाँ or चौथरका m., °थी or °थईँ or °थकी f.; *sixth*, wk. f. छट्ब् c. g., or st. f. छटा or छट्वाँ m., छट्ठी or छट्ईँ f.; *fifth*, wk. f. पंचब् c. g., or st. f. पचा or पंचवाँ m., पची or पंचईँ f.; *seventh*, wk. f. सातब् c. g., or st. f. सत्ता or सत्तवाँ m., सत्ती or सत्तईँ f. The rest are formed exactly like the forms of the *fifth* and *seventh*. Their obl. forms are, e. g., gen. sg. or pl., masc. पहिले कै of the first, दसवेँ कै of the tenth; fem. पहिली कै, दसईँ कै, etc. When they are used as subst., they are inflected like them; thus gen. sg. पहिल्ला कै of the first one, pl. पहिलन् कै of the first ones; but पहिले तन् कै of the first man, पहिले जनन् कै of the first men, etc.

401. *Affinities and Derivation.* For the derivation of पहिल् see §§ 118. 213. B. and O. पहेला or पहिला (§. Ch. 105. Bs. II, 142), M. पहिला, W. H. पह्लौ or पहिलौ or °लो, P. पहिला, G. पेहेलो, S. पेहेरो or पेहेर्यो or पहर्यो. The first ए of the G. and S. forms is merely euphonic (see § 57). — The deriv. and affin. of दूसर् and तीसर् see in §§ 270. 271, and for the deriv. of चौथ्, see § 78. B. and O. have चौथ (chauthō) or चौथा (§. Ch. 105), M. चवथा, W. H. चौथौ (Br.) or चोथो (Mw.), P. चौथा, G. चोथो, S. चोथो. — The E. H. छटा, B. and O. deest, W. H. छट्ठी or छट्ठो, G. छटो are derived from Pr. छट्ठो, st. f. of Pr. छट्ठो (H. C. 1, 265), Skr. षष्ठः, the M. सहावा, P. छेवाँ, S. छहो are formed anomalously (as if Skr. \*षष्ठमः) from the Gd. cardinals M. सहा, P. छे, S. छह. The E. H.

forms इठवाँ, दुसर्खा or दुसरवाँ anomalously contain the suff. ख् or ख्वाँ, see § 264. The forms पहिलका, दुसरका, तिसरका contain the pleon. suff. खा (see § 198). The form चौथरका is formed anomalously after the analogy of दुसरका, तिसरका. As to the deriv. and affin. of the rest, see §§ 265. 266.

### 3. MULTIPLICATIVES.

402. The multiplicatives denote how many times a number is multiplied. They are formed from the cardinals by adding the suff. खा or खाँ or खाँई, excepting the first six which are made in a peculiar way. They are used only in the multiplication table.

- |   |                                 |
|---|---------------------------------|
| 1. ऐकँ or ऐकै or के or कं                                 | 6. इक् or इक्का or इक्के or इक् |
| 2. दूनी   | 7. सते                          |
| 3. तियाँ or त्रिका or तिरिका<br>or त्रिके or तिरिके or ति | 8. खठे or खाह्                  |
| 4. चौक् or चौका   | 9. नखाँ or नखाँई                |
| 5. पचा or पचे or पुरे                                     | 10. दहाँ or दहाँई, etc.         |

403. The forms ऐकँ and ऐकै are only used in the phrase ऐकँ एक् or ऐकै एक् *once one is one*; and पचा only in पचा पचीस् *five times five are twenty five*. The form पुरे is used only when the product contains the words पच् or पै *five*, i. e., when it is fifty or an odd multiple of five (excepting, however, पाँच् *five*, पंदरह् *fifteen* and पचीस् *twenty five*). As to the other alternative forms, no strict rule can be given; the practice varies according to local or individual fancy. In general it may be said, that the shorter forms, as ति, खाह्, इक् or इक्, are used when the product is polysyllabic. The multiplicative always takes the middle place in the sentence. The following tables are given as examples:

10 × 1 is 10, etc.

दस् के दस्	दस् इक्के साठि
दस् दूनी बीस्	दस् सते सत्तर
दस् तियाँ तीस्	दस् खठे खस्ती
दस् चौक् चालिस्	दस् नखाँ नख्खे
दस् पुरे पचास्	दस् दहाँ सौ

3 × 1 is 3, etc.,

तीन् के तीन्	तीन् इक् खठारह्
तीन् दूती इ	तीन् सते एकइस्
तीन् त्रिका नौ	तीन् खठे चौबिस्
तीन् चौक् बारह्	तीन् नखाँ सताइस्
तीन् पचे पंदरह्	तीन् दहाँ तीस्

13 × 1 is 13, etc.

तेरह के तेरह	तेरह झाक् अठन्नत्र
तेरह दूनी इब्बिस्	तेरह सते ऐक्यानब्बे
तेरह ति वनतालिस्	तेरह आठ चलोतरसो
तेरह चौका बावन्	तेरह नवौं सतराहौंसो
तेरह पुरे पैसठि	तेरह दहाई तीसासो

The table of one is formed in a peculiar manner; thus:

ऐकै एक	चार के चार	सत् के सत्	दहाई दस्
दु के दुइ	पच् के पाँच	अठ के आठ	
तिन् के तीन	इ के इह	नवौं नौ	

The multiples of five are formed thus:

पच् के पाँच	चार पचे बीस्	सत् पुरे पैसठि	दस् पुरे पचास्
दो पचे दस्	पचा पचीस्	आठ पचे चालिस्	इग्यारह पुरे पंचावन्
तीन् पचे पंदरह	इ पचे तीस्	नौ पुरे पैतालिस्	बारह पचे साठि, etc.

404. *Affinities and Derivation.* The forms in ए are probably obl. forms or nom. plur. of the resp. nom. sing. in आ, as सते of सता, अठे of अठा, etc. For the rest see § 407. The multiplicatives are identical with the collectives or aggregates; thus तीन् अठे चौबिस् means lit. *three sums-of-eight are twenty-four*.

#### 4. COLLECTIVES.

405. The following words are used to express some aggregate sums: जोरा or जोरी *a pair*, चौकरा or ोरी or गंडा *a four*, गाही *a five*, कोगी *a score*, सैकरा *a hundred*, सहसर *a thousand*, लाख *a hundred thousand*, कोरा or कोर *ten millions*. Collectives may also be formed by adding आ or आँ to the cardinals, so especially बीसा *a score*, तीसा *a thirty*, चलीसा *a forty*, also एका *a one*, पंचा *a five*, सता *a seven*, अठा *a eight*, नवौं *a nine*, दहाई *a ten*, etc. The multiplicatives दूनी, तियाँ or त्रिका, चौक् or चौका, झाक् or झाका may be used as collectives.

406. All collectives are subst.; those in अ (*quiescent*) or आ are masc.; those in ई fem.; they are declined precisely like all other subst.

407. *Affinities.* These numerals probably occur in all Gds., though they are not noticed by all Gd. grammarians. As to S. see Tr. 178—181 (§§ 26. 27); thus एको or हिको 1, बिको 2, ट्रिको 3, चउको or चउकु or चउकडो 4, पंतो 5, इको 6, छतो 7, छतो 8, नाँचो 9, उहो or उहाको 10, बीहो or बीहारो or बिहारो or कोडो 20, ट्रीहो or ट्रीहारो or दिहारो 30, चालीहो or चाल्हारो (for \*चालीहारो) 40, पंताहो or पंताही 50, साठीको 60, सवियो or सौकिडो 100, सहासु or हजार् 1000 (Tr. 168), लाख 100000, कोरु or किरोटि 10000000. As to P., see Ld. 85. 86, thus काउ or काउ 1, टूणी 2, तिआउ 3, चौका 4, पाँता 5, इका 6, साता 7, आठा 8, नाइआ 9, दाहा or दहाका 10, कोडो or बीहडो or बीहा 20, पंताहा 50, सैकड 100, सहस्र or हजार् 1000, लख 100000, करोड 10000000, etc. As to W. H., see Kl. 105—107; they do not much differ from E. H.; एकाई 1, टूना or टूनी or तोग or तोगे 2, ती or तीन् 3, पंता 5, नम् or नम्मा 9, दहाम् or दहार् 10, कोडो or बीसा 20, सैकड 100, सहस्र or हजार् 1000, करोड 10000000; some collectives are formed by adding the fem. suff. ई (for masc. आ), as बतीसी a *thirty two*, पचीसी a *fifty*, etc. In M. सहस्र or हजार् 1000, लाख 10000, कोट or कोट 10000000.

408. *Derivation.* Collectives are derived in Skr. by means of the suff. क, whence the Gd. forms arise regularly. Thus *unit*, Skr. एककम्, Pr. एक्कं, E. H. एका; *triad*, Skr. त्रिकम्, Pr. तिअं, W. H. ती, E. H. ति; *score*, Skr. विंशकम्, Pr. वीसअं, E. H. बीसा; *hexad*, Skr. षट्कम्, Pr. इक्कं, E. H. षाक्; *quaternion*, Skr. चतुष्कम्, Pr. चउक्कं, E. H. चौक्; *pentad*, Skr. पञ्चकम्, Pr. पंचअं, E. H. पंचा, etc. Sometimes the pleon. suff. क (see § 195) is added; thus *triad*, E. H. तियाँ or त्रिका, Pr. तिअअं, Ap. Pr. त्रिक्कअं, Skr. त्रिककम्; *quaternion*, E. H. चौका, Pr. चउक्कअं, Skr. चतुष्ककम्; *hexad*, E. H. इक्का, Pr. इक्कअं, Skr. षट्कम्; *ten millions*, E. H. कोराँ or कोरांग, Pr. कोडिअं, Skr. कोटिकम् (or \*कोटकम्); sometimes the pleon. suff. रा (or ग, see § 209) is superadded; as *four*, E. H. चौकरा, W. H. चौकडो, Ap. Pr. चउक्कउड, Skr. चतुष्क; *hundred*, E. H. सैकरा, W. H. सैकडो, Ap. Pr. सयक्कउड, Skr. शतक, etc.; perhaps also E. H. तोरा, W. H. तोगे, Ap. Pr. \*तुअउड (cf. H. C. 2, 15 विज्ञ = Skr. विद्वान्),

Skr. दिक°, though this might be a noun derived from the R. जुट् or जुट् join. Sometimes the „collective“ sense is emphasised by making the numeral an abstract noun by means of the suff. न्नाई (see § 220); thus W. H. एकाई *unit*, E. H. नवाई *nine*, दहाई *decade*, etc. — Differently derived is दूना m. and दूनी f. *duad*, viz. from Pr. दुउपाञ्च (cf. H. C. 1, 94), Skr. द्विगुणकम्. — As to the E. H. सहस्र and करोर see §§ 138. 135. — The E. H. गंडा is properly a noun, the Skr. गण्डकः, lit. *aggregate of four sides* (?); so is also the E. H. गाही, lit. *the aggregate of the five (ancient) planets* (Skr. ग्रह). — For the E. H. कोरी or कोडी *score* I know no satisfactory explanation; possibly it may be connected with कौडी, (Skr. कपर्दक) *aggregate of twenty shells* (?).

## 5. REDUPLICATIVES.

409. The reduplicative numbers are defective. Only the following occur in E. H.; एकहरा *onefold, single*, दुहरा or दोहरा *twofold, double*, तेहरा *threefold, triple*, चौहरा *fourfold, quadruple*. The rest are made by adding the word बार or बेर *time* to the cardinal numbers; as पाँच बार or पाँच बेर *five times, quintuple*, etc.

410. The reduplicatives are adj. and treated precisely like those of the strong form (§ 381); that is, they make a fem. in ई (§ 384), as दोहरी, तेहरी, etc., and an obl. form in ए (§ 386), as दोहरे, etc.

411. *Affinities.* The reduplicatives exist in all Gds. As to W. H. see Kl. 105. In P. there are 1 इकहरा or कहिरा, 2 दोहरा, 3 तिहरा, 4 चौहरा or चउहरा, 5 पंतौहरा or पंतउहरा, 6 डेचौरा, 7 सतौरा; and even the „ordinal“ suff. म may be added pleonastically; thus पंतौहरम *quintuple*, just as पंतभाँ or पंतखँ *fifth* (Ld. 88). In S. there are, 1 हेकर or हेकार, 2 बिहर or बिहार, 3 दिहर or दिहार, 4 चोहर or चोहार (Tr. 184). M. adds पट *strip* instead of हरा; thus 1 एकपट, 2 दुपट, 3 तिपट, 4 चौपट, 10 दसपट, etc. (Man. 42). Similarly W. H. adds लडा *string*, e. g., 3 तिलडा, 4 चौलडा (see Kl. 105). — B. and O. seem to use tats. forms; as एकधा, द्विधा, etc. (see §. Ch. 109. Sn. 24).

412. *Derivation.* Reduplicatives are formed in Skr. by the addition of the *quasi-suff.* विध (from विधा *form, manner*), which in Pr. becomes विह or, curtailed, ह, whence, probably by the addition of the pleon. suff. र (see § 209, or in S. अर), arises the E. H. हर. Thus in the Bh. (Wb. Bh. 425. 426) the following occur: 2 दुविह, 4 चउविह, 5 पंचविह, 6 ष्विह, or contracted 1 एगाहिय, 2 वेहिय, 3 तेहिय (perhaps from Skr. विहित past part. of R. वि-धा). Accordingly Skr. द्विविध° *twofold*, Pr. दुविह° (H. C. 1, 94) or वेविह°, whence contracted Ap. Pr. दोहउउ or वेहउ, and W. H. दोहरौ or E. H. दोहरा, S. बिहर. The S. form बिहार presupposes an Ap. Pr. वेहउ, containing the pleon. suff. क and उ. Compare the names of the E. H. metre दोहा masc. (Skr. द्विविधकः) and Pr. दोहडिया fem. However, the Pr. ह and Gd. हर might be also derived from the Skr. *quasi-suff.* ध 'or धा, as in द्विधः (from द्विधा *in two parts*).

## 6. FRACTIONALS.

413. The following fractional numbers occur in E. H. Those marked with an asterisk are used both as subst. and adj.

$1/2$ *आध् or *आधा	$1/16$ सोरही or सोरहिया
$1/3$ तिहाई or तिहइया or तिहैया	$1 1/4$ *सवा or सवाई or सवइया or सवैया
$1/4$ *पाउ or *पाव or चौथाई or चौथइया or चौथैया	$1 1/2$ *डेऊ or डेठा or डेढे or डेऊ or डेठा or डेढे
$1/10$ दहाई or दहइया or दहैया	$2 1/2$ *आठा or आठाई or आठइया or आठैया
	$3/4$ पाउन् or पौना

It is to be noted, that पउने or पौने deducts *one fourth*, but सवा adds *one fourth* and साढे *one half* to the numeral to which they are prefixed. Thus एक पाउ सेर *one fourth of a ser*; आध् सेर or आधा सेर *half a ser*; पउन् or पौना सेर *three quarters of a ser*; सवा सेर *one ser and a quarter*; डेऊ सेर *one ser and a half*; पौने दुइ सेर *one ser and three quarters* (lit., *one quarter less than two sers*); सवा दुइ सेर *two sers and one quarter*; आठा सेर, or आठाई सेर *two sers and one half*; साढे तीन सेर *three sers and one half*, etc.

414. None of the adjectival fractionals change their form in construction with a subst., except आधा *half* which makes re-

gularly fem. *आधी* (§ 384), and obl. form *आधे* (§ 386). Thus *आधी राति* *midnight*, *आधे मार्ग मे* *at half-way*. ~

415. *Affinities*. These fractionals occur in all Gds., though there are additional forms in some of them. Thus  $\frac{1}{4}$ , W. H. पाञ्चो or चौथाई, P. पाउ or चुथाई, S. पाउ or चोये or चौथाई or चोया, G. पा, M. पाव्, B. चौटि or सिक्कि, O. पा or पाए;  $\frac{1}{8}$ , W. H., P. तिहाई, S. टिहाई, B. तिहाइ;  $\frac{1}{2}$ , W. H. आध् or आधी, P. अठ or अठा, S. अध् or आधो, G. अरधो, M. अर्धा, B. आध् or अर्थ or अर्थक्, O. अध or अर्थ or अर्थक्;  $\frac{3}{4}$ , W. H., P. पौन्, G. पोपो, M. पाउपा;  $\frac{1}{4}$ , W. H. सवा or समा or सम, P. सवा or सवाई or सवाईया, S. सवाई, G. सवा, M. सव्वा, B. सउया;  $1\frac{1}{2}$ , W. H. डेऊ or डौडा or डेओडा, P. डेऊ or डूऊ or डूडा or डेउडा, S. डेऊ or डेडे, G. डोढ, M. दीड्, B. देऊ, O. देऊ;  $2\frac{1}{2}$ , W. H. अठई or ठामा or ठाम्, P. ठई or ठाईया or ठाया, S. अठई, G. अढी or हडी, B. अठई, O. अठई;  $3\frac{1}{2}$ , W. H. हूँटा or होटा, P. उठा or उँटा or उटा;  $4\frac{1}{2}$ , W. H. ढौँचा, P. ढौँचा (or पौचा?);  $5\frac{1}{2}$ , W. H. पोँचा, (P. पौँचा?);  $6\frac{1}{2}$ , W. H. खौँचा;  $7\frac{1}{2}$ , W. H. सतौँचा. Again *minus*  $\frac{1}{4}$ , W. H., B., O., P. पौने, S. पौपो or मुनो, G. पोपा, M. पाउपो or पावपो; *plus*  $\frac{1}{4}$ , W. H., P., S., G. सवा, M. सव्वा, B. सउया, O. सउयाइ; *plus*  $\frac{1}{2}$ , W. H., P., O. साढे, S. साढा (or साडु), G. साडा, M., B. साडे. See Kl. 103. 105. Ld. 85. 86. 87. Tr. 184. 185. Ed. 48. Man. 45. §. Ch. 109. Sn. 24.

416. *Derivation*. आध् or आधा regularly for Pr. अढो or अठओ, Skr. अर्धः or अर्थकः. — तिहाई, चौथाई, दहाई, सोरही are abstract nouns derived with the suff. ई or आई from the ordinal or cardinal forms (see § 220). The ह्. in तिहाई is probably merely euphonic, for तिआई = तीआई = Pr. तइअ° (H. C. 1, 101) = Skr. तृतीय°. — पाउ or पाव् (or H. H. पाञ्चो) regularly for Ap. Pr. पाउ, Pr. पाञ्चो, Skr. पाट्; O. पा or पाय् or पाए = Mg. पाए or पाये. — सवा curtailed from Ap. Pr. सवाउ, Pr. सवाओ, Skr. सपाट्; O. सवाई, Mg. सवाई or सवाये. — साढे is the obl. form of साढा (which, however, is never used), regularly for Pr. सडुओ, Skr. सार्धकः from स + अर्थ (lit. *with a half*). — पउने or पौने is the obl. form of पौना or wk. form पाउन् or पौन्, regularly for Pr. पाञ्चोपो, Skr. पाटोन्; from पाट् + ऊन्, lit. *one quarter less*. — The forms देऊ or डेऊ, आढा,



उठा, etc. are made by compounding अर्ध *half* with the next highest ordinal; thus  $3\frac{1}{2}$  is in Mg. Pr. अर्धुत्तमं (see Wb. Bh. 425), which is evidently shortened for अर्धोत्तमं = अर्ध + अर्धुत्तमं = अर्ध + चतुर्थं (cf. H. C. 2, 33) = अर्ध + चतुर्थं lit. *half-fourth*. The same shortening of ओ to उ occurs in Mg. सप्तमं for सप्तोत्तमं = Skr. सप्तोत्तमम् (Wb. Bh. 427). Next Pr. अर्धोत्तमं is changed to अर्धोत्तमं (see § 119) and the initial अ is dropped (see § 172), whence arises the W. H. होटा or हूटा or (dropping ह्) the P. उठा or उँटा (cf. § 145, exc. 2). Again  $2\frac{1}{2}$  is in Mg. Pr. अर्धुत्तमं (Wb. Bh. 425), which is contr. for अर्धुत्तमं or अर्ध + अर्धुत्तमं = अर्ध + तृत्तमं (cf. H. C. 4, 339 तृत्तमं) = Skr. अर्ध + तृतीया lit. *half-third*. An alternative Pr. form of तृत्तमं is तृत्तमा (cf. H. C. 1, 101), whence arises Pr. अर्धुत्तमा or contracted अर्धुत्तमा or E. H. अर्धार्ध or अर्धार्ध्या or (dropping initial अ, § 172) P. ढार्ध्या or ढार्ध. Similarly  $4\frac{1}{2}$  must be Skr. अर्धपञ्चमः *half-fifth*, Ap. Pr. अर्धुत्तमं or contracted अर्धुत्तमं, whence (dropping initial अ, § 172) P. ढौत्तमा, W. H. ढौत्तमा. Similarly  $1\frac{1}{2}$  would be in Skr. अर्धद्वितीयः, Mg. अर्धद्वितीयं (or \*अर्धद्वितीयं), and transposing अर्ध and द्वि (or \*द्वि), द्विअर्ध, which form occurs in the Bh. (see Wb. Bh. 190. 411) and whence is contracted E. H. देअ or डेअ, M. दीअ or G. डेअ or P. डेअ and डूअ or W. H. डौअ. — The forms पौत्तमा, खौत्तमा, सतौत्तमा are anomalous and fanciful forms, made after the analogy of ढौत्तमा under a mistaken idea of its true derivation. They have, certainly, no connection with उँत्तमा *high* (as Kl. 108). The ख् of खौत्तमा is merely the modern pronunciation of ख् in the Skr. खण्, and shows that the word is of modern origin, without any foundation in Pr. — In the W. H. समा or सम the व् of सवा has been changed to म् (see § 134), as W. H. नम्मा or नम *nine* for नवा. In the W. H. हामा or हाम corresponding to P. हाया or हाई the म् appears to be merely euphonic.

## 7. PROPORTIONALS.

417. Proportional numbers are made by adding the word गुना *time* to the cardinal numbers; thus दुइ गुना *two times*, तीनि गुना *three times*; चारि गुना *four times*; पाँच गुना *five times*, etc.

There are also the contracted forms दुगुना *twice*, तिगुना *thrice*, चौगुना *four times*.

418. *Affinities and Derivation.* The proportionals exist in all Gds. Thus B. दुइगुण् 2, etc. (§. Ch. 109), O. तिनिगुण् 3, etc. (Sn. 24), W. H. दुगुना 2, तिगुना 3, चौगुना 4, सतगुना 7, etc. (Kl. 105); P. uses either the full or the contracted forms throughout; e. g., दूपा or दूपो 2, तीउपा or तिगुपा 3, चौपा or चौगुपा 4, पचौपा or पंचौपा 5, षिषौपा or षिगुपा 6, सतौपा or सतगुपा 7, अठौपा or अठगुपा 8, नौपा or नौगुपा 9, दसौपा or दसगुपा 10, etc. (Ld. 87). S. has only the contracted forms: thus हेकूपो 1, बीपो 2, द्वीपो 3, चउपो or चौपो 4, पंतूपो 5, इडूपो 6, सतूपो 7, अठूपो 8, नउपो 9, उडूपो 10, etc. (Tr. 182). S. has also हेकूटो *once*, बीटो *twice*, which, perhaps, are contractions of हेक-पटो, बिपटो, as in M. which uses पट् instead of गुण्; thus एकपट् 1, दुपट् 2, तिपट् 3, चौपट् 4, etc. (see § 411). — E. H. दुगुना regularly for Pr. दुगुणञ्च, Skr. दिगुणकम्; E. H. तिगुना for Pr. तिगुणञ्च, Skr. त्रिगुणकम्; and E. H. चौगुना for Pr. चउगुणञ्च, Skr. चतुर्गुणकम्.

## 8. SUBTRACTIVES. —

419. Subtractive numerals are made by adding कम् *less*; thus 99 is एक कम् सै *one hundred less one*; 48 is दुइ कम् पचास् *fifty less two*.

420. *Affinities and Derivation.* कम् is thus used also in B. (§. Ch. 110), and in W. H., H. H., and probably in all W. Gds., as it is a persian word. B. uses also the Gd. word चाइट् (§. Ch. 110).

## 9. DISTRIBUTIVES.

421. Distributive numbers are made by repeating the numeral; thus दुइ दुइ *by twos, two each*; दस् दस् *by tens, ten each*. Sometimes distribution is idiomatically expressed by the word पाछे *after*; e. g., ब्राह्मन् के दुइ दुइ पैसा दिहलेस् or ब्राह्मन् पाछे दुइ पं दि<sup>०</sup> *he gave the Brāhmans two paisās each*. Sometimes करि *having made* is added to the reduplicated num.; e. g., दुइ दुइ करि दि<sup>०</sup> *he gave two to each*.

422. *Affinities.* This practice of reduplication is common to all Gds.; thus B. दश दश or दश दश करिया *by tens* (§. Ch. 106. 245), O. दुइ दुइ *by twos* (Sn. 24), and so in all. B. also expresses distribution by adding the particle टा or टी to a single numeral, as दश टा करिया देउ *give ten to each* (§. Ch. 245).

### 10. DEFINITIVES.

423. Definiteness or emphasis is given to a number by adding the suff. ओ or ओ"; thus दोनो बरिस् *the two years*; तीनो दिन् *the three days*; चारो ब्राह्मन् *the four Bráhmans*, etc. A final इ is dropped before the suff., e. g., चारो of चारि *four*, साठो of साठि *sixty*, etc.

424. *Affinities and Derivation.* This suff. is used also in W. H. (see Kl. 101), to which it more properly belongs. It is the same as the suff. of the obl. plur. (see §§ 362, 363. 365, 7), which is occasionally transferred to the nom. plur. also (see § 369).

### 11. INDEFINITIVES.

425. Indefiniteness in a number is expressed either by prefixing or suffixing एक् one to the numeral, as एक् दस् *about ten*, सौ एक् *about one hundred*, etc.; to एक् itself आध् *half* is added, एक् आध् *about one*. Or it may be expressed by joining another number according to the following rules: 1, every number is used with the one immediately following, as तीनि चारि *about three*, दस् इयारह् *about ten*, etc.; or 2, ten or any multiple of ten is used with the next following multiple of five or ten; as दस् पंदरह् or दस् बीस् *about ten or any number between ten and fifteen or between ten and twenty*; बीस् पचीस् or बीस् तीस् *about twenty*; or 3, exceptionally 2 is used with 4, दुइ चारि *about two*, 5 with 7, पाँच सात् *about five*, 8 with 10, आठ दस् *about eight*, 10 with 12, दस् बारह्, 12 with 14, बारह चौदह् *about twelve*, 20 with 50, बीस् पचास् *about twenty*.

426. *Affinities.* These usages are probably common to all Gds. As to B. see §. Ch. 106. 107, and as to W. H. see

Kl. 101. B. also expresses indefiniteness by prefixing one of the particles गोटा, गोटी, खान् or थान्, गह् to a numeral (§. Ch. 106); O. uses गोटा (Sn. 24); S. suffixes खनु (Tr. 180). Thus B. or O. गोटा त्रिण् or B. खान् त्रिण् or S. दिहारो खनु *about thirty*. — The B. खान् or थान्, S. खनु is, probably, the Skr. स्थाणुः *stake* or *post*, which becomes in Pr. थाणू or खाणू (H. C. 2, 7) or खणू (H. C. 2, 99). — The B. गोटा or गोटी is probably the Skr. गोष्ठिकः *assembly, heap*, and गह् probably the Skr. गच्छ *a progression*.

#### FOURTH CHAPTER. THE PRONOUN.

427. There are six kinds of pronouns, 1) the personal, 2) the correlative, 3) the reflexive, 4) the honorific, 5) pronominal adjectives and 6) pron. adverbs. The genitives of the personal and reflexive pron. serve to express the corresponding possessive pron.

##### 1. PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

428. E. H. possesses pron. for the first and second person only. For the third pers. the remote demonstr. pron. is used. The pers. pron. are alike for both genders. The forms of the 1<sup>st</sup> pers. are, dir. sg. मै *I*, obl. sg. मो or मोँ, dir. and obl. pl. हम् *we*; those of the 2<sup>nd</sup> pers. are, dir. sg. तै *thou*, obl. sg. तो or तोँ, dir. pl. तू *you*, obl. pl. तोह्.

429. There is a long form of the pers. pron., which, however, now occurs only in the fem. plur. and is made by adding the suff. वनी (see §§ 209. 214) to the obl. plur., thus हमनी *we*, तोहनी *you*.

*Note:* The weak form हमन् *we* occurs in the O. H. (Kl. 127); the corresponding form of the 2<sup>nd</sup> pers. would be \*तोहन् *you*. From these are derived the strong fem. forms हमनी and तोहनी, to which would correspond the strong masc. \*हमना and \*तोहना, obl. \*हमने and \*तोहने. Some of these masc. forms may be in actual use. All alike are very vulgar and almost exclusively used

by women, even in a sing. sense<sup>1</sup>). A plur. तुमन् and even a sing. तुइन् actually exists in Gw. (see Kl. 129). See similar long forms of the correlative pron. in § 436.

430. *Affinities and Derivation.* 1) *The first pers. pron. sing.* The dir. form is essentially the same in the E., S. and N. Gds.; thus B. मुइ, O. मु or मुइ or मुहि, E. H. मै (Bh.) or मई or मय् (Bs.), M. मो, N. मै or मो; also H. H. मै. It is quite different in the W. Gds., viz. W. H. हो (Br.) or हो (Kn.) or हू (Mw.), P. हउ, G. हुँ, S. छाँउ or छाँ (dropping ह्). The other forms, however, also occur dialectically in the W. Gds., viz. W. H. and P. मै, S. मू or माँ, but, as a rule, they are only used as the obl. form; e. g., abl. sg. Mw. मैँ सू from me, P. मैँ थो, S. मूँ लाँ or माँ लाँ; act. sg., W. H. and P. मै, G. मे, S. मूँ or माँ. On the other hand, the proper dir. form छाँ is occasionally used as an obl. in S. (Tr. 190), and so also हउ in P. (Ld. 16). This shows that the forms with initial म् are properly obl., and have been anomalously transferred to the nom. sg., as has occasionally happened in the case of subst. (see § 369). — *The obl. form* is essentially the same in all Gds.; viz. B. and O. मो, E. H. मो (Bh.) or म्वा or म्वहि (Bs.), O. H. मोहि or मुहि, W. H. मोहि or मुहि or मो or मै or मे (Br.) or मै or म्हे or (shortened) म or म्हा or म्ही or म्हा or मा (Mw.)<sup>2</sup>, P. मे or मै, S. मूँ or माँ or मुहुँ<sup>3</sup>, G. म or मा or मे<sup>4</sup>, M. म or मो or म्याँ<sup>5</sup>; N. म or मै or मो or मे<sup>6</sup>). — There are, then, in Gd. two principal types: 1) that of the proper dir. forms हो, etc.; 2) that of the various obl. form मै, मो, etc., some of which are also occasionally used as direct forms.

1) I may state here as a general fact, that among the vulgar in India the plur. forms of the pron. and verb are almost universally used in the place of the sing. Inattention to this fact has led to many errors in the statements of Kl. and Bs. as to E. H.

2) मे and मा or म्हा only in the gen. मेरो (Br.), मारो or म्हारो (Mw.).

3) मुहुँ only in the gen. मुहुँ जो.

4) मा only in gen. मारो, and मे in the act.; but acc. म ने.

5) मो and म्याँ only in the act., but acc. म ला, etc.

6) मे only in gen. मेरो, मै only in the act. मै ले.

The dir. forms are modifications of the Ap. Pr. nom. sg. *हृ* (H. C. 4, 375) or *हम्* (K. I. 39 in Ls. 451) or *हम्* (Mđ. *अस्मदो हम्* सुना सार्त्तः । अस्मद् इत्यधिकारः । हम् भणामि », i. e., *asmad* has *hamu* in the nom. sg.; here the rules on *asmad* commence; *hamu bha-nami* I speak). The Skr. nom. sg. is *अहम्*, which becomes in Pr. *अहं* or *हं* (Vr. 6, 40) or str. form *अहञ्* (Vr. 6, 40) or \**हञ्*. The latter regularly H. C. 4, 354. changes to *हं* in Ap. Pr.<sup>1)</sup>, and this becomes in P. *हं*, in Br. *हो*, in Kn. *हो*, in Mw. *हूँ*, in G. *हूँ*. — The Gđ. obl. forms are modifications of the Pr. gen. sg. forms *मद्* or *मह* (H. C. 3, 113) or *महु* (H. C. 4, 379). The form *मद्* is used in Mh. Pr. for the gen., abl., instr. and loc. sg. (H. C. 3, 113. 111. 109. 115), and in the Ap. Pr. for the instr. loc. and acc. sg. (H. C. 4, 377); that is, it has evidently become a general obl. form. There can be little doubt, that *मद्* is a curtailment of \**महि* (see § 126) and the three forms \**महि*, *महु* and *मह* are evidently made by means of the Ap. gen. or obl. suff. *हि*, *हु*, *ह* (shortened for *हे* and *हो*, see §§ 365, 6. 367, 3). In the Ap. Pr. the corresponding pl. suff. *हिं*, *हुं*, *हं* are sometimes transferred to the sg. (see § 367, 5); accordingly we find in the Ap. Pr. also the alternative forms *मद्* (for \**महिं*, cf. § 126), *महुं* and *महं* (see K. I. 44 in Ls. 451, and H. C. 4, 377. 3, 113)<sup>2)</sup>. Now the Ap. *मद्* or \**महि* is modified in O. to *मुहि*

1) Ls. 330 explains the form *अहञ्* as = *अहम्*, analogous to Pr. *तुम्* and *तुं* or *तं* (H. C. 3, 90); this seems to be supported by the Ap. form *हम्*; that form, however, is somewhat doubtful; it might well be a false reading for *हं*. It appears to me more probable that *अहञ्* is the regular strong form of *अहं*, and equal to \**अहकं*, as shown by the corresponding Mg. *अहके* (Vr. 11, 9) which according to Mg. usage retains the क; there is also a Mg. form *हकं* or *हगे* (Vr. 11, 9), which represents a Mh. form \**हञ्* and the Ap. *हं*; H. C. 4, 354 expressly states that the Pr. strong form *अहं* (*अकं*) changes to *अहं* in the Ap. Pr.

2) The Ap. Pr. has *मद्* according to H. C. 4, 377, but *महं* according to Mđ. *मद्* उटाम्भिः । मद् । मयि मया मां वार्त्तः » again it has *महु* according to H. C. 4, 379, but *महुं* according to K. I. and Mđ. *उत्तिष्ठतां मत्तमहुंमहा । त्रयः*

or मुद्, in B. मुद्, in Bs. स्वहि (for \*मुहि, i. e. व for उ, § 71), Br. मुहि (in assimilation to तुद्), and contracted in P. to मे or मै, M. मे. The Ap. मद् is in Bs. मद् or मय्, in E. H., W. H., P., N. मै, in M. मी or म्यै (for मे, i. e. या for ए, cf. § 71). The Ap. महु is in O. H., B., O., E. H. मो<sup>1</sup>) (for \*मउ, § 126, cf. तउ in Nro. 2) or Bs. स्वा, and the Ap. महुं in E. H., N. मो and in S. मुहु (in assimilation to तुहु) or मू. The Ap. Pr. मह occurs in O. H. (e. g., मह सम *like me*, cf. Kl. 121<sup>2</sup>), and is shortened in M., G., N. to म, in O. मु, in W. H. म or म्ह; and the Pr. महं is in S. मय्. Lastly in the O. H. and in Br. the obl. suff. हि is pleonastically super-added to the obl. form मो, making it मोहि. — 2) *The second pers. pron. sing.* The circumstances here are precisely analogous to those of the 1<sup>st</sup> pers. pron., with the exception, that of the old Skr. nom. sg. त्वम्, Pr. तं or तुं or त्वं or तुमं (H. C. 3, 90) no trace has survived in Gd. In all Gds. alike, and even in the Ap. Pr., the old gen. sg. or obl. form has taken the place of the dir. form (cf. § 369). — Thus as dir. forms are used in B. तुद्, in O. तु or तुद् or तुहि, E. H. तद् or तय् (Bs.) or तै (Bh.), N. त, W. H. तै or तै or तू (Br.) or तू or तू (Mw.), P. तू, S. तू, M. तू, G. तू; as obl. forms in B. and O. तो, E. H. तो or तो (Bh.) or त्वा or त्वै or त्वहि (Bs.), N. तै or तै<sup>3</sup>), W. H. तोहि or तो or तू or तै or ते (Br.) or दो or दै or या or य (Mw.) or तोई or त्वी or त्वै (Gw., Km.)<sup>4</sup>), P. तै or ते, S. तो or तुहु<sup>5</sup>), G. त or तु or ते or

स्युः ॥ and in the *Nāgara Ap.* ममेत्यर्थे महुं च स्यात् । महुं धत्तु सुन्दर । चकारान् मम च ॥ lastly the Ap. has मह according to Md. in the above quotations, and the Mh. Pr. has both मह and महं according to H. C. 3, 113.

1) In the O. H. of Chand मो occurs as a gen., e. g., नाथ मो नाम चंद *Lord! my name is Chand* (Kl. 121).

2) Or, Chand 25, 28 मह सगपन सा करिहि सु केमं ॥ *how will she make my kinship, etc.*

3) तै only in the act. तै ले *by thee*.

4) ते and या only in the gen. तेरौ (Br.), यारौ (Mw.), तू and तै only in the act. in Br. तूने or तैने, but in Mw. generally, e. g., abl. तै सँ or दै सँ, see Kl. 128.

5) तुहु only in the gen. तुहु जो.

तू or ता<sup>1</sup>), M. तू or त्वाँ or तु<sup>2</sup>). All these obl. forms are various modifications of the Pr. gen. sg. forms तइ or तइं, तउ (modified for \*तहि or \*तहिं, \*तहु, cf. महु in Nro. 1), तुह or तुहं, तुहुं<sup>3</sup>), which are derived by means of the gen. or obl. suff. हि, हु, ह or हिं, हुं, हं from the bases त or तु (for Skr. त्व). To complete the series, the form तुहि must be added, which is preserved in the O. H. and Br. तुहि, Bs. त्वहि, O. तुहि or तुइ, B. तुइ, Gw. (lg. f.) तुइन्; and also the form तह<sup>4</sup>) which is preserved in the Br. gen. तेरो, Mw. थारो *thine* for Ap. \*तहारउ, just as Br. मेरो, Mw. मारो or म्हारो *mine* = Ap. महारउ (H. C. 4, 358) from Ap. gen. मह. The Pr. तइ or \*तहि appears in P. तै or ते or (shortened) G. त, Mw. त or थ; and the Ap. Pr. तइ or \*तहि in Bs. तइँ or तयँ, Bh., Br., N. तैँ, Mw. थैँ, G. तेँ, N. तँ. The Ap. Pr. तउ or \*तहु becomes

1) ता only in the gen. तारो, तेँ and तू only in the act. तेँ or तूँ, त or तु in the acc. तने or तुने..

2) M. तूँ or त्वाँ only in the act.

3) The form तइ is used as an obl. form in the Mh. Pr. for the gen., abl., instr., loc. sing. (H. C. 3, 99. 96. 94. 101) and in the form तइं in the Ap. Pr. for the instr., loc. and acc. sg. (H. C. 4, 370) and Mđ. तइं डिटाभिः । एभिः सह युष्मदस् तइं स्यात् । तइं । त्वया त्वयि त्वां वा ॥ The form तउ is used in the Ap. Pr. for the gen. and abl. sg. (H. C. 4, 372), and तुह for the gen., abl. and loc. (Mđ. डिउसिउसां तुहतुक्तम्भतुहभाः स्युः ॥ see also K. I. 44 in Ls. 451) and तुहं for the gen. and abl. (K. I. 44 in Ls. 451); the same form तुह and तुहं are also used for the nom. sg. both in the Mh. (H. C. 3, 90) and Ap. Pr. (K. I. 39 in Ls. 451); the form तुहुं is used in the Ap. Pr. for the nom. sg. (H. C. 4, 368. Mđ. युष्मदस् तुहं । युष्मद इत्यधिकारः । सुनेत्येव । तुहुं सोमसि ॥ i. e., *thou sleepest*. The identity of the nom. forms तुह or तुहं with the gen. forms तुह or तुहं has been already pointed out by Ls. 465, and that the nom. form तुहं is really a gen. is shown by the fact of its still being used in S. for the gen. तुहुं जो (Tr. 191. 193). In तइ, तइं, तउ a medial ह has been dropped, as is shown by the Mw. obl. थैँ or थ (contr. for \*तहिं, \*तह); and the forms in इं (= \*हिं), हं, हुं are gen. pl., used in a sing. sense, precisely as in the case of मइं, महं, महुं (see Nro. 1).

4) तह is given as an obl. form by De Tassy in his Hindi Gramm. (Kl. 121).



in O. H., B., O., E. H., S. तो<sup>1)</sup>, and in W. H. तो or तो, Bs. त्वा, and a corresponding Ap. form \*तुहं is preserved in the E. H. तो or त्वा, M. त्वा (cf. § 71). The Ap. तुह becomes in O., M., G. तु and is preserved also in the E. Gd. तोरा *thine* (or Ap. तुहारा (cf. H. C. 4, 434). The Ap. तुह or तुहु becomes in P., S., G. तू, Mw. तू or तू, Br. तू. Lastly, O. H. and Br. form तोहि by pleonastically suppleradding the obl. suff. हि to the obl. form तो; and similarly ऽ forms the gen. तुहे (तो), abl. तोहँ by pleonastically adding the obl. suff. हँ and हँ (or हे, हँ). — 3) *The first pers. pron. plur.* The circumstances here are the same as with the 2<sup>nd</sup> pers. pron. sing. No trace of the old Skr. nom. pl. वयम् has survived in Gd.; Pr., however, has वयं or वयं (H. C. 3, 106). But Gd. and, generally also Pr., use one of the many obl. forms of the Skr. base अस्म as their direct form. Thus the various dir. forms in Gd. are: B. अमि or अम (to the latter, as usual, the pl.-aff. रा is added, अम-रा), O. अमो, E. H. हम्, N. हमी (to which, as usual the pl.-aff. हरु or हेरु is added, हमीहरु or हमीहेरु), M. अम्ही, W. H. हम् (Br.) or म्हे or म्हे (Mw.), G. अमे or हमे; and S. and P. असी. The various Gd. obl. forms are: B. अमा, O. अम्य or अम्यन (the latter only in the lat. अम्यनु), E. H. हम् (Bh.) or हम्ह (Bs. see Kl. 127), N. हँमी, M. अम्हा or अम्ही (only act.) or अम् (only in the gen. अम् चा), W. H. हम् or हमन् or हमनि or हमौ or हमै (Br.) or मँ or म्हाँ (Mw.) or हमु (Gw.)<sup>2)</sup>, G. अम् or अमे or हमे (only act.) or अमा (in the gen. अमारो); P. असा or सा or हम्हा or (only act.) असी, S. असाँ or असाँहे or असाँहू. All these forms are modifications respectively of the following Pr. gen. or obl. forms: a) अम्ह or अम्हि or अम्हे, b) अम्हाणं, c) अम्हं, d) अम्हिं or अम्हं, which may be spelled also अम्<sup>०</sup> (H. C. 4, 412). Of these the first set अम्ह, अम्हि, अम्हे are modifications of the vedic

1) In the O. H. of Chand त्ते occurs as a gen. sg., e. g., सुनिय बात तो तात। *having heard the word, thy father, etc.*

2) हमै only in the dat. and acc. हमै कौ; हम्हा only in the gen. हम्हा *our*.

obl. form अस्मे; and अह्, अहे are used in Pr. for the gen., instr., acc., nom. (H. C. 3, 114. 110. 108. 106) and अहे in the Ap. for the acc. and nom. (H. C. 4, 376)<sup>1</sup>). The Pr. अस्मे or अहे becomes आस्मे in O., अस्मे or हस्मे in G., and स्मे in Mw.; and the Pr. अह् becomes अम् in G., हम् in W. H. and E. H., and आम् in M. — The Pr. form अस्मि or अस्मि, though clearly a mere modification of the plur. obl. form अस्मे (or अस्मे), has assumed the sense of the sing. and is used for the nom. and acc. sing. (H. C. 3, 105. 107). It is so employed also in one of the Ap. Pr. (Md. अहम् अर्थे अस्मिहुंमयाः । अस्मि पश्चिदु (?) । एवं हुंम (?) ). It has only survived in the B. आमि I. As to the second Pr. set अह्माणां or अम्भाणां, it is the regular gen. plur. of the base अह् or अम्भ (H. C. 3, 114, see § 365, 4) and has survived in the O. अम्भन् and W. H. हम्न् or हम्नि. As to the third and fourth Pr. set अह्हं, अह्हं, to which must be added a form \*अह्हं, they are regularly derived with the Ap. gen. or obl. suff. हं, हुं, हिं (see § 365, 7) from the base अह्. The form अह्हि or (dropping हं) अह्हं is limited in the Ap. to the nom., acc. and instr. (H. C. 4, 376)<sup>2</sup>), but in Gd. it occurs also in the dat. (= old gen.); thus in O. H. हम्हि and contracted, in Br. हम्, H. H. हम्, Mw. हम्, M. अह्ही or अह्ही, N. हम्मो. The form \*अह्हं is not noticed by the Pr. Gramm., but it appears in Br. as हम्मो, H. H. हम्मो, Gw. हम्मो. The Ap. form अह्हं, especially mentioned by H. C. 4, 380 as the gen. plur., survives in Mw. ह्माँ or म्माँ or (dropping the *anundsika*) in B. अमा, M. अह्मा, W. H., P. हमा, G. अमा. — The anomalous P. and S. forms with स्

1) H. C. allows both अहे and अह्हं to the nom. and acc.; K. I. gives अहे to the nom. and अह्हं to the acc. (K. I. 40 in Ls. 451); again Md. allows both अस्मे and अह्हं to the nom., but only अह्हं to the acc., thus अह्हं इति जगत्स्थाः । अह्हं अह्मु पेक्ष वा । अस्मे च जता । अस्मे भणामु । चकाराद् अह्हं च ॥

2) H. C. has only अह्हं and allows it only to the nom. and acc., but Md. has both अह्हि and अह्हं and allows them also to the instr., thus अह्हं अह्हि अम्भो अह्हिहि अह्मेहिम् इति च भिन्ना । पक्ष स्युः । अह्हं भणामु । एवमन्यानि ॥

cannot have arisen from the ordinary Pr. or Ap. forms, but must be referred to some peculiar Pr., which changed the conjunct स्म of the Skr. base अस्म to स्स् instead of to स्द् or स्म्<sup>1</sup>). Otherwise, however, their formation is exactly analogous to those of the other Gd. forms; thus P. and S. असी is analogous to M. अम्ही and would presuppose a Pr. form \*अस्सहिं or \*अस्सइ; and the P. असा, S. असाँ to P. हसा, Mw. म्हँ, presupposing Pr. \*अस्सहं. In the S. असाँहि and असाँहू the obl. suff. हे, हू (for ऐ, ऊ) are pleonastically superadded. — 4) *The second pers. pron. plur.* The circumstances here are exactly analogous to those of the first pers. pron. plur., substituting only the base तुम्ह or तुम् (= Skr. युष्म) for अम्ह or अम्. A simple enumeration therefore of the various Pr. and Gd. forms will suffice. Pr. and Ap. have: a) तुम्ह or तुम्हे (H. C. 3, 91. 93. 4, 369); b) तुम्हाणां (H. C. 3, 100); c) तुम्हहिं or तुम्हइ (H. C. 4, 369), d) तुम्हहं (H. C. 4, 373) or e) \*तुम्हहुं, all plur., and f) तुमे (H. C. 3, 92. 94. 101) in the sing. (like अस्मि). In Gd. there are, 1) the following dir. forms: B. तुमि (f), O. तुम्मे (a), E. H. (a) तू (Bh., for तूह) or तोह or तोह or (a) तुम्ह (Bs.), W. H. (a) तुम् (Br.) or (a) ये or (c) यै (Mw., for \*तहे or \*तहै, with अ for उ as in G., S. and P.); G. तमे (a), M. तुम्हो (c), N. (f) तिमि (like B. तुमि) or (c) तिमो (with इ for अ or उ, as in Br. तिहारो yours), S. (c) तव्हो or तवो or तहो or तइ or (c) अव्हो or अवो or अहो or अइ or अई, P. (c) तुसी (for Pr. \*तुस्सइ). And 2) the following obl. forms: B. (d) तोसा or (a) तोम (only in the nom. pl. तोम-रा), O. (a) तुम् or (b) तुम्म् (only in the dat. तुम्म्हु), E. H. (a) तोह or तोह (Bh.) or (a) तुम्ह (Bs.), W. H. (a) तुम् or (e) तुम्हो or (c) तुम्है

1) The loc. suff. स्मिन् admits both changes in the pron. of the ordinary or Mh. Pr. (H. C. 4, 59. 60, e. g., सव्वस्मिं or सव्वस्मि, or सव्वहिं for \*सव्वस्मिं in all), but only स्मि in subst. (H. C. 3, 11, e. g., देवस्मि in god); on the other hand the Mg. Pr. admits a form \*सि म्मि or सि सि even in subst. (Wh. Bh. 417, as देवंसि or देवसि). This is noteworthy; for the P. and S. phonetic system shows also in other points (see §§ 16. 18. 14) an affinity to that of the Mg. class of Pra. and Gds. The Pāli admits both स्मिन् and स्मि in subst. (St. G. 62).

(only in the dat.) or (d) तुम्हा or तिहा (only in the gen. तुम्हारो or तिहारो), all these in Br., or (e) तुम् (Gw.) or (b) तुमन् (Km.) or (d) यँ (Mw., for \*तहँ, see S.), G. (d) तमा (in the gen. तमारो) or (a) तम् or (a) तमे (only act.), M. (d) तुम्हा or (c) तुम्ही (only in the act.) or (a) तुम् (only in the gen. तुम् चा), N. (f) तिमि or (c) तिवी, S. (d) तव्हँ or तवँ or तहँ or तँ or (d) अहँ or अवँ or अहँ or अँ, P. (d) तुला (for Pr. \*तुल्लहँ) or (d) तुहा or युहा or (d) तुमा or (c) तुमी (only in the act.). As to the origin of the S. forms; the उ of the Pr. तुम्हइ is changed to अच् (similarly as in Bs. त्वहि to thee for तुहि) and म् is elided, whence S. तव्हँ; next either ह् or व् is dropped, making तवी or तही; finally व् or ह् is elided, making तई; the other S.-set अहँ, etc. arises in a precisely similar way from the Pr. forms derived from the Pr. base उम्ह (H. C. 3, 99. 95). — 5) *There remain a few peculiar obl. forms:* viz., of the first pers. pron., M. मन् or माके or माक्या (Man. 47. 85), G. मन्न, W. H. मुन्न, H. H. मुक् or मुके, and of the second pers. pron., M. तुन् or तुके or तुक्या, G. तन्न, H. H. तुक् or तुके, P. तुध. These obl. forms are modifications of the Pr. gen. मत्क (H. C. 3, 113) or Ap. मत्कु (H. C. 4, 379), Pr. तुत्क (H. C. 3, 99) or Ap. तुत्कु (H. C. 4, 372) or तुध (H. C. 4, 372). The origin of these forms is obscure. In Pr., the forms मत्क and तुत्क are treated as regular bases, just like Pr. अम्ह and तुम्ह, Skr. अस्म and युष्म, and declined as nouns. Thus in the gen. sing. the pure base मत्क or अम्ह (H. C. 3, 113) is used after the Ap. Pr. fashion, i. e., dropping the gen. suff. (H. C. 4, 345); loc. sg. मत्कम्मि or अम्हम्मि (H. C. 3, 116), gen. pl. मत्कापां or अम्हापां (H. C. 3, 114), loc. pl. मत्कसु or अम्हसु (H. C. 4, 117), etc. In Gd. the gen. sg. (or pure base) मत्क, तुत्क become H. H. मुक्, तुक्, M. मन्, तुन् (with न् for क्, § 145, note). And Gd. derives from them even regular obl. st. forms, H. H. मुके, तुके, M. माके or माक्या, तुके or तुक्या (just as H. H. घोडे, M. घोड्या of घोडा horse). The corresponding direct st. forms exist only in M. माका m., माकी f., माके n., and तुका, तुकी, तुके. They serve both as the gen. sing. of the personal pron., and as possessive pron. In E. H., also, the possess. pron. are often used in the place of

the pers. pron.; thus abl., E. H. हमरे सो<sup>०</sup> or हमरा सो<sup>०</sup>, just as M. माक्या हन्, loc. E. H. मोरे ने, M. माक्यान्. It appears, probable, therefore, that the bases मक and तुक are really those of possessive pron. and perhaps connected with Skr. मदीय *mine* and त्वदीय *thine* by substituting the Pr. bases मह, तुह for म, त्व (or मद्, त्वद्); thus महइय = मक = मक्क or तुहइय = तुक्क or तुह (cf. H. C. 3, 91. nom. pl. तुहे) = तुक. Or they might be referred to the Skr. bases मादृक् *like me*, त्वादृक् *like thee*, which would easily assume a possessive meaning (see §§ 218. 251), and which might change in Pr. to मद्दिह = मक्क, तुद्दिह = तुक्. It may be remarked that a somewhat analogous process has taken place in the case of the demonstrative pron.; thus Pr. एहो is both *that* and *such-like* = Skr. ईदृक्, and S. has इको = इनहो = ईदृक्: (see § 438, 4). This would explain also the P. form तुध, which would be = तुदह = त्वादृक्, and the र in the Ap. Pr. form तुर्ध might be a reminiscence of the Skr. ऋ of दृक्<sup>1</sup>). Ls. connects मक and तुक with the gen. sing. of the pers. pron. \*मस्य and \*त्वस्य, but these change regularly to मह or महि, तुह or तुहि (see Nros 1. 2); I believe, there is no example of the Skr. conjunct स्य ever changing to स्क् in Pr.

431. Personal pron. are declined precisely like nouns, with the exception that in the gen. they use their corresponding possessive pron. (§ 449). The weak form of the latter is preferred in the nom., and the st. form in the obl. cases: thus मोरु बाप् or rarely मोरा बाप् *my father*, but मोरे बाप् कै *of my father*; हमारु माई or rarely हमरी माई *our mother*, but हमरी माई कै *of our mother*, etc.

432. A sort of pleonastic declension may be made by adding the case-aff. to the obl. form of the gen. in ए; but in

1) Or again, मक might be = मह-न, and तुक = तुह-न and तुध = तुह-द; न and द being the gen. postpositions which occur in O. H. and O. P., and are still used in M., P. and M. S. They may have existed in Pr. already, just as the modern gen. postpositions चा, का, केरा lit. *done* (see § 377).

the *khari bhāshā* this is restricted to the loc., as *मे मे* or *मोरे मे* in *me*, *हम मे* or *हमरे मे* in *us*, etc.

432 a.

## 1. First personal pron.

a) Simple form: मैं *I*, हम *we*.

	Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.
nom. मैं	हम	हमलोग्	
a., d. मो के or मो के	हम् के	हमलोग् के	or हमलोगन् के
i., abl. मो से or मो से	हम् से	हमलोग् से	or हमलोगन् से
gen. मोरू or मोरू, मोरी, मोरे	हमारू or हमरा, ०री, ०रे	हमलोग् कै, के	or हमलोगन् कै, के
loc. मो मे or मो मे or मोरे मे	हम् मे or हमरे मे	हमलोग् मे	or हमलोगन् मे

b) Emphatic form: मैं ही or मैं हूँ even *I*.

	Singular.		Plural.
nom. मैं ही	मैं हूँ	हम ही	हम हूँ
a., d. मोही के	मोहू के	हम ही के	हम हूँ के
i., abl. मोही से	मोहू से	हम ही से	हम हूँ से
gen. मोहू or मोरे ही	मोरी or मोरे हूँ	हमरू or हमरे ही	हमरू or हमरे हूँ
loc. मोही मे or मोरू मे	मोहू मे or मोरी मे	हम ही मे or हमरू मे	हम हूँ मे or हमरू मे
	or मोरे ही मे	or मोरे हू मे	or हमरे ही मे
			or हमरे हू मे

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## 2. Second pers. pron.

a) Simple form: तू *thou*, तू *you*.

	Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.
nom. तू	तू	तूलोग्	
a., d. तो के or तो के	तोहू के	तूलोग् के	or तूलोगन् के
i., abl. तो से or तो से	तोहू से	तूलोग् से	or तूलोगन् से
gen. तोरू or तोरू, तोरी, तोरे	तोहारू or तोहरा, ०री, ०रे	तूलोग् कै, के	or तूलोगन् कै, के
loc. तो मे or तो मे or तोरे मे	तोहू मे or तोहरे मे	तूलोग् मे	or तूलोगन् मे

b) Emphatic form: तू ही or तू हूँ even *thou*.

	Singular.	Plural.
nom. तू ही	तू हूँ	तू ही or तू हूँ    तू हूँ or तू हूँ
a., d. तोही के	तोहू के	तू हूँ के    तोहू के
i., abl. तोही से	तोहू से	तू हूँ से    तोहू से
gen. तोरू or तोरे ही	तोरी or तोरे हूँ	तोहरू or तोहरे ही    तोहरी or तोहरे हूँ
loc. तोही मे or तोरू मे	तोहू मे or तोरी मे	तू हूँ मे or तोहरू मे    तोहू मे or तोहरी मे
	or तोरे ही मे    or तोरे हू मे	or तोहरे ही मे    or तोहरे हू मे

*Note:* *ही* and *हू* may or may not be spelled *हीँ*, *हूँ*; also *हम* and *तुँह* may be spelled *हमँ* and *तुँहँ* before *हीँ* and *इँ* (see § 67); e. g., *हमँ हीँ के to us*, *तुँहँ इँ के to you*. — The gen. pl. may also be *तोहारै*, *हमारै*, etc.

## 2. THE CORRELATIVE PRONOUNS.

433. By the term „correlative pronoun“ I here designate the demonstrative, the relative, the interrogative and the indefinite. The demonstrative pron. include the near, the far and the general. The forms of the *near dem.* are: dir. sg. or pl. *ई* (also *यह* or emphatic *ऐहै* or *इहै* or *इहई*), obl. sg. *ए* or *ऐह* (or emph. *ऐही*), pl. *ऐन्ह* (or emph. *ऐन्हही*); of the *far dem.*: dir. sg. or pl. *उ* (also *वह* or emph. *ओहै* or *उहै* or *उहई*), obl. sg. *ओ* or *ओह* (or emph. *ओही*), pl. *ओन्ह* (or emph. *ओन्हही*); of the *general dem.*: dir. sg. or pl. *ते* (or emph. *तेहै* or *तिहई*), obl. sg. *ते* or *तेह* (or emph. *तेही*), pl. *तेन्ह* (or emph. *तेन्हही*); of the *relative*: dir. sg. or pl. *जे* (or emph. *जेहै* or *जिहई*), obl. sg. *जे* or *जेह* (or emph. *जेही*), pl. *जेन्ह* (or emph. *जेन्हही*); of the *interrog.*: dir. sg. or pl. *के* (or emph. *केहै* or *किहई*), obl. sg. *के* or *केह* (or emph. *केही*), pl. *केन्ह* (or emph. *केन्हही*); of the *indef.*: dir. sg. or pl. *के* or *केह*, obl. sg. or pl. *के* or *केह*. These forms are alike for the masc. and fem.

434. The interrog. pron. has a peculiar form in the sing.: dir. *का*, obl. *का* or *काहै*, when inanimate objects are spoken of. It is, in fact, practically a *neuter*. The obl. *काहै* is used only, when no subst. is expressed. Thus *का करैसह what do you do*, *का घर मे in what house*, *काहै से खइखे with what wilt thou eat it?* In the plur., the ordinary forms are used.

435. The general dem. pron. has an alternative dir. form *से* *he, that* for both, sing. and plur. It is generally used instead of *ते*, but has no emph. forms to express which *तेहै*, *तिहई* are used.

436. All correlative pron., exc. the near and far. dem., have long forms, made by adding the pleonastic suff. *बन्* (see §§ 209. 214). They are treated like adj., i. e., they may be

either weak or strong (§ 381), they are alike in the sing. and plur. (§ 386), and they form a strong fem. in ई (§ 384) and a strong masc. obl. in ए (§ 386). Thus *weak forms*: dir. and obl., sg. and pl., com. gen., तवन् or तउन् or तौन् *he*, तवन् or तउन् or तौन् *which*, कवन् or कउन् or कौन् *who*, कौनो *any one*; *strong forms*: sg. and pl., masc. obl. तउने or तौने, तउने or तौने, कउने or कौने; fem. dir. and obl. तउनी or तौनी, तउनी or तौनी, कउनी or कौनी. The existence of the strong masc. dir. forms \*तउना or तौना, etc. is doubtful.

437. *Affinities.* In the following list, forms of the same origin are designated by the same letter. Thus *a, a* denote forms of the same group, *a, a* or *a, a* forms of the same variety of the same group, etc. It will be noticed, that the various groups have been much intermixed, the dir. form of a declension sometimes belonging to one group or variety, and its obl. form to another.

1) *The near dem. pron.*; .dir. sg., B. (a) ए or (c) इनि; O. (a) ए or एहि or (a) इहा; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ई or ऐह् or इह् or यद् or Bs. या; (W. H.) Br. (a) यद् or यहु or इहु or Mw. (a) यो or जो (masc.) and या or जा (fem.); P. (a) इह् or एह् or अह् or (f) इत्; S. (a) हो or हे (com. gen.) or (a) होउ or हिउ (masc.) and होअ or दिअ (fem.) or (a) इहो or ईहो or इओ or ईओ (masc.) and इहा or ईहा or इआ or ईआ (fem.) or (e) इको (masc.) and इका (fem.); G. (a) आ or ए; M. (a) हा (masc.), हो (fem.), हे (neut.); N. (a) यो. *Obl. sg.*, B. (a) ए or (a) इहा or (c) ईहा, O. (a) इहा or एहा or एहाँ; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ए or ऐह् or Bs. (a) या or यहि; (W. H.) Br. (a) इहि or या or बहि or Mw. (c) इपा or ई or (γ) इपी or अपी or H. H. (b) इस् or (β) इसे (in the dat. and acc. only); P. (a) इह् or अह् or (b) इस् or एस् or ऐस् or (c) इन् or एन् or ऐन् (only act.); S. (c) हिन् or इन् (or इन् only abl.); G. (a) आ or ए; M. (a) हा or या (masc.) and हि or इ (fem.) or हास्, हीस् (only dat.); N. (a) ए or (b) वस् or Km. (a) वे or ए. *Dir. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ई or ऐह् or यद् or इह् or Bs. (a) ए or एन्ह or इन्; W. H. (a) यद् or (a) वे or ये or ऐ; P. (a) इह् or एह् or अह्; S. (a) हो or हे or (a) इह् or (e) इके; G. (a) आ or एओ; M. (a) हे (masc.), हा



(fem.), हो (neut.); N. (a) इन् or एन्. *Obl. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ऐन् or Bs. यन् or इन् or यन् or इन्; (W. H.) Br. (a) इन् or (c) इन्हो (or इन्हे dat. acc. only), or Mw. (a) यौ or यौ or (c) इयाँ or ययाँ; P. (c) इनाँ or इन्हाँ or एनाँ or (a) अहाँ or (c) इनी or इन्ही or एन्ही or एनी (act. only); S. (a) इनि or हिनि or (c) इननि or हिननि or इन्हनि or इन्हिनि or इन्हे; G. (a) एन्ओ or (c) एवन्; N. (a) इन् or इन् or Km. (a) यौ or (c) इन् or इनी.

2) *The far dem. pron.; dir. sing.*, B. (a) ओ or (c) उनि; O. *deest*; E. H. (a) उ or ओह or वह or उह; (W. H.) Br. (a) वह or वुह or वुहि or उहि or (a) वो or Mw. (a) उ or वृ (masc.) and वा (fem.); P. (a) उह or ओह; S. (a) हू or उ (com. gen.) or हो or ओ (masc.) and हुअ or उअ (fem.); G. (d) ओलो or पेलो (masc.), ओली or पेली (fem.), ओलु or पेलु (neut.); M. *deest*; N. (a) उ. *Obl. sing.*, B. (a) ओ or (a) उहा or (c) उँहा; O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ओ or ओह or Bs. (a) वहि; (W. H.) Br. (a) उहि or वा or वाहि or (b) उस् or विस् or (β) उसे or विसे (dat. acc. only) or Mw. (c) उपा or वी or (γ) उपाँ or वपाँ; P. (a) उह or (b) उस् or (c) उन् or ओन् (only act.) or (f) उत्; S. (c) हुन् or उन् or उनिह or उन्हिअ or उन्हे (or हुनाँ or उनाँ abl. only); G. (d) ओला or पेला (masc.), etc.; M. *deest*; N. (b) उस् or Gw. (a) वे. *Dir. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) उ or ओह or वह or उह or Bs. (a) ओ or उन्ह; W. H. (a) वह or (a) वे or वे; P. (a) उह or ओह; S. (a) हू or हो or (a) हूए or उए or होए or उहे; G. (d) ओला or पेला (masc.), etc.; M. *deest*; N. (c) उन् or उन्. *Obl. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ओन्ह or Bs. (a) उन्ह or उन्; (W. H.) Br. (a) उन् or उनि or (c) उन्ही or (a) विन् or विनि or (c) विन्ही (or उन्हे or विन्हे dat. acc. only) or Mw. (a) यौ or यौ or (c) उपाँ or वपाँ; P. उनाँ or उन्हाँ (or उनी or उन्ही act. only); S. (a) हुनि or उनि or (c) हुनि or अनि or इन्हनि or उन्हिनि; G. (d) ओलाओ or पेलाओ; M. *deest*; N. (a) उन् or उन् or Km. (a) उँ or (c) उन् or उनी.

3) *The general dem. pron.; dir. sing.*, B. (a) से or (a) ताहा or (c) तिनि or तेह; O. (a) से or सेहि; E. H. (a) ते or से or तेह or तिहि or (c) तवन् or तउन् or तौन्; W. H. (a) सो; P. (a) स्ने; S. (a) सो (masc.) and सा (fem.); G. (a) ते; M. (a) तो (masc.), ती (fem.), ते (neut.);

N. (a) त्यो or (c) तुन्. *Obl. sing.*, B. (a) ताहा or (c) ताँहा; O. (a) त्त or (a) ताहा or ताहाँ or ताहिँ; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ते or तेह् or Bs. (a) त्या or त्वाहि or (c) तवन् or (γ) तउने or तौने; (W. H.) Br. (a) ता or ताहि or तिहि or तिहु or (b) त्वासु (gen. only) or H. H. (b) तिस् or (β) तिले (dat. acc. only) or Mw. (c) तिपा or तिपी or तपी; P. (a) तिह् or (b) तिस् or (c) तिन् (act. only) or (f) तित्; S. (a) तँहिँ (or तहाँ abl. only); G. (a) ते; M. (a) त्या (masc.) and ति (fem.); N. (a) त or तो or (b) तस् or (c) तुन् or Km. (a) तइ or तै. *Dir. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; E. H. (a) ते or तेह् or तिह् or (c) तवन् or तउन् or तौन्; W. H. (a) तो; P. (a) सं; S. (a) से; G. (a) ते or तेओ; M. (a) ते (masc.), त्या (fem.), ती (neut.); N. (c) तुन्. *Obl. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) तेन्ह् or (c) तौन् or (γ) तौने or Bs. (a) त्यन्ह् or त्यन् or तेन्; (W. H.) Br. (a) तिन् or तिनि or (c) तिन्ही (or तिन्हेँ dat. acc. only), or Mw. (a) त्पाँ or तँ or (c) तिपाँ; P. (c) तिनँ or तिन्हाँ (or तिन्ही or तिनी act. only); S. (a) तिनि or तनि or (c) तिननि or तिनिनि or तिन्हिनि or तिन्हिनि; G. (a) तेओ or (c) तेम्; M. (a) त्पाँ; N. (a) तिन्ह् or तिनह् or Km. (a) त्पूँ or (c) तनू or तनन्.

4) *The relat. pron.*; *dir. sing.*, B. (a) ये or (a) याहा or (c) यिनि; O. (a) ये or येहु or (c) येउ or येउँ or यौ; E. H. (a) जे or जेह् or जिह् or (c) जवन् or जउन् or जौन्; (W. H.) Br. (a) जो or जो or (c) जोन or Mw. (a) ज्यो; P. (a) जो; S. जो (masc.) and जा (fem.); G. (a) जे; M. (a) जो (masc.), जी (fem.), जे (neut.); N. (a) जो or (c) जुन्. *Obl. sing.*, B. (a) याहा or (c) याँहा; O. (a) या or याहिँ or याहा; (E. H.) Bh. (a) जे or जेह् or (c) जोन् or (γ) जौने or Bs. (a) ज्या or ज्यहि; (W. H.) Br. (a) जा or जाहि or जेहि or H. H. (b) जिस् or (β) जिले (dat. acc. only), or Mw. (c) जिपा or जी or जपा or जपी; P. (a) तिह् or (b) जिस् or (c) जिन् (act. only) or (f) जित्; S. (a) जँहिँ; G. (a) जे or (c) जेवन्; M. (a) ज्यो or जा or जे (masc.), जि (fem.); N. (a) ज or जो or (b) जस् or (c) जुन् or Gw. (a) जइ or जै. *Dir. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) जे or जेह् or जिह् or (c) जवन् or जउन् or जौन् or Bs. (a) तेन्ह्; (W. H.) Br. (a) जो or जो or (c) जोन् or Mw. (a) ज्यो; P. (a) जो; S. (a) जे; G. (a) जे or जेओ; M. (a) जे (masc.), ज्या (fem.), जो (neut.); N. (c) जुन् or (a) तिन्ह्. *Obl. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) जेन्ह् or Bs. (a) ज्यन्ह् or ज्यन् or जेन्; (W. H.) Br. (a) तिन् or तिनि

or, (c) तिन्हौ (or तिन्है dat. acc. only), or Mw. (a) तयँ or तयँ or (c) त्रिपातँ or त्रिपातँ; P. (c) त्रिनाँ or तिन्हँ (or त्रिनी or तिन्हौ acc. only); S. (a) त्रिनि or त्रिनि or (c) तिन्हनि or तिन्हनि or त्रिननि or त्रिननि; G. (a) त्रिनेशो; M. (a) त्रिनयँ; N. (a) तिन्ह or तुन्ह or Km. (a) त्रू or (c) त्रू or त्रनू.

5) *The interrog. pron.; dir. sing.*, B. (a) के (com. gen.) or कि or कोन् (both neut.); O. (a) के or केहु or (c) केहु or केउँ or कौ (all com. gen.) or (a) कि or (b) किस or (c) कपा (all neut.); E. H. (a) के or केह or किह or (c) कवन् or कउन् or कौन् (com. gen.) or (a) का or काह (neut.); (W. H.) Br. (a) को or कौ or (c) कौन् or कौनु or Mw. (c) कोण or कुण or कण (all com. gen.), or Br. (a) का or कहा or क्या or Mw. (a) काई or काई (all neut.); P. (a) किहउ or (c) कोण (com. gen.) or (a) की or किआ (neut.); S. (a) केहो or केहो or (d) केहो or केहो or केह or (e) कुताओ (all com. gen.) or (a) हा or कोहु or कुहु (neut.); G. (a) शो (masc.), शो (fem.), शु (neut.) or कयो (masc.), कई (fem.), कयू (neut.) or (c) कोण (com. gen.); M. (c) कोण (com. gen.) or (a) काय (neut.); N. (a) को or (c) कुन्. *Obl. sing.*, B. (a) काहा (com. gen.) or (a) कि or (b) किसे (both neut.); O. (a) का or (a) काहा or काहिँ (all com. gen.); (E. H.) Bh. (a) के or केह (com. gen.) or (a) का or काहे (neut.) or Bs. (a) क्या or कयहि (com. gen.); (W. H.) Br. (a) का or काहि or किहि or Mw. (c) कुण or कण or कौ or कुणी or कणी or H. H. (b) किस् or (β) किसे (dat. acc. only) com. gen., or काहे (neut.); P. (a) किहउ or किह or (b) किस् or (f) कित् or (c) किन् (act. only) com. gen., or कास् or काह (neut.); S. (a) केह or (d) केह or काहिँ or (e) कुताओ (com. gen.); G. (a) के or (c) कोण (com. gen.); M. (c) कोणा or कोपया or कोपो (or कापी) instr. only) com. gen., or (b) कसा or कस्या or कशा or कषया (all neut.); N. (a) क or को or (b) कस् or (c) कुन् or Gw. (a) क or कै. *Dir. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; E. H. and W. H. like sing.; P. (a) किहउ or (c) कोण; S. (a) केहा or (d) केहा or केरे or (e) कुताओ (com. gen.); G. (a) कया (masc.), कई (fem.), कयौ (neut.); M. and N. like sing. *Obl. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) केह or Bs. (a) कयन् or कयन् or केन् or किन्; (W. H.) Br. (a) किन् or किनि or (c) किन्हौ (or किन्है dat. acc. only); Mw. (c) कपाँ or कपाँ; P. (c) किनाँ or

किन्हीं (or किनी or किन्ही act. only); S. (a) केहनि or (d) केहनि;  
 (a) किनि or कनि or (c) किन्हुनि or किन्हुनि or किननि or किमिनि;  
 (a) कोपा (com. gen.) or (b) कसई or कसई (neut.); N. (a) कुन्  
 Gw. (a) कू or कू or कन्.

6) *The indefinite pron.*; *dir. sing.*, B. (a) केह; O. (a) केहि or  
 (a) कौघसि or कउघसि; (E. H.) Bh. (a) केह or (c) कौनो or Bs. (a) केउ  
 or कोउ; W. H. (a) कोई or कोउ or (c) कौनी; P. (a) कोई; S. (a) को  
 or कोई (masc.), का or कार् (fem.), को (neut.); G. (a) कोइ; M. (c) कोघी  
 or कोपही; N. (a) कोहि. *Obl. sing.*, B. (a) काहा; O. (a) काहा; E. H.  
 like *dir.*; (W. H.) Br. (a) काह or (b) कसू or कसि or (c) कौनी or  
 Mw. (a) को or (c) कुपी or कपी; P. (b) कसे or कसि; S. (a) कोहि  
 or कोहि; G. (a) कोइ; M. (c) कोपा or कोपहा; N. (a) कोहि or (b) कसै.  
*Dir. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; E. H., W. H., P. like *sing.*; S. (a) के  
 or केई or कई or कई; G. (a) कई; M. (c) कोपी. *Obl. plur.*, B. and  
 O. *deest*; E. H. and W. H. like *sing.*; P. (b) कसे or कसि or (c)  
 किन्हीं; S. (c) किने or कने or कनी or कन्ही; M. (c) कोपही.

438. *Derivation.* It will be observed that in the preceding list there are six principal types of forms, which I have severally marked with a, b, c, d, e, f, and the characteristic features of which are the letters ह् (occasionally elided), स्, न् (or ण्), ल् (or र्), फ् (or न्), त् respectively. The derivation of these forms is involved in many difficulties, the explanation of which, however, in most cases (I think) will be found to be the fact, that the forms which are now used as simple pron. were originally those of pron. adj. of quality or quantity.

1) The pron. of quant. are in Skr. इयत् (or Ved. ईक्यत्), तस्यत्, यावत्, कियत् (Ved. कोक्यत्) so large or so much, etc. In Pr, these became एव, तेव, तेव, केव (cf. H. C. 4, 407. 408) or एम्, तेम्, तेम्, केम् (K. I. 10. 11. 12 in Ls. 450. 451), or slightly modified इव, तिव, तिव, किव or इम्, तिव, तिव, किव (K. I. 10. 11. 12); sometimes they are variously spelled एव or इव, etc. (H. C. 3, 397, 401) or एव् or इव्, etc. (cf. H. C. 4, 418); again they may be shortened to ए, ते, ते, के (see Wb. Bh. 422). Thus the Ap. Pr. uses the first set एव, etc., with the addition of the pron. suff. ह्.

as quant. pron., एव, तेव, etc. (H. C. 4, 407. 408 and see § 218), and S. and P. similarly use the shortened forms ए, ते, etc. with the pleon. suff. डो or डा; viz. S. एडो, तडो, etc., P. एडा, तडा, etc. Again G. uses the set एव, तेव, etc., itself without adding any pleon. suff., as qual. pron., एवो, तेवो, etc. But already in the Ap. Pr. these quant. (or qual.) pron. had come to be commonly used as *simple pron.*; so especially the bases इम *he* or *this* (H. C. 4, 361. 3, 72; it is also so used in Skr. in the obl. cases of इदम्) and किम् *what* (K. I. 13 in Ls. 450); again as *pron. adv.*, viz. एव, तेव *thus*, etc. (H. C. 4, 401; एव or एवम्, an acc. sg., occur even in Skr.), or एवम् *so, thus* (H. C. 4, 420, a loc. sg. cf. H. C. 4, 334) and एवम्हि *now* (H. C. 4, 420, also a loc. sg., cf. H. C. 4, 357). Again the shortened bases (कि etc.) occur in the Ap. Pr. abl. sg. किहे (H. C. 4, 356, with the abl. suff. हे of nouns in इ, cf. H. C. 4, 341), and perhaps in the pron. adv. तिह, त्रिह, किह (H. C. 4, 401, lit. abl. sing. with suff. ह, shortened for हे). Again the shortened forms जे (ते?), से are mentioned by Mđ. as nom. sg. (जे से एस सुना यन्नेतदां । एषां सुना सह जे से एस इत्य् एते स्युः । ते (?) पुरिसो महिला वषां वा । एव से एस ॥). The latter are used in all E. Gds. and in G. as nom. sg.; thus E. H. ए, ते or से, जे, के. By adding the regular obl. sing. suff. ह (shortened for Ap. हो or हु, see § 365, 6) the E. H. obl. forms ऐह, तेह, जेह, केह are derived and by adding the regular obl. plur. suff. ञ्ह (see §§ 365, 4. 368, 5) the plur. obl. forms ऐन्ह, तेन्ह, etc. The older form in हु is occasionally met with, as तिहु (Kl. 137, e). The corresponding obl. form made with the gen. or obl. suff. रि (shortened for Ap. हे, see §§ 365, 6. 368, 2) is found in Bs. and Br.; thus Br. याहि (for \*एहि) or इहि, तेहि or तिहि, etc., Bs. यहि (for \*इहि), त्रयहि (for \*तिहि), etc. Again (just as with nouns, see § 365, 6) the obl. suff. ह or हि may be dropped in E. H.; thus Bh. ए, ते, etc., Bs. या, त्या (= ए, ते), etc., Br. या, ता, etc. In the obl. pl. of Bs. the suff. ञ्ह usually drops the ह (as in E. H. and Br. nouns, see § 368, 5); thus Bs. इन्ह or यन्ह or इन् or यन्, etc. In Br. it optionally ends in इ; e. g., Br. इन् or इनि, तिन् or तिनि, etc. (cf. O. H. कविन्ह or कविन्धि, Br.

कविन् or कविनि, obl. pl. of कवि *poet*). In P., also, the short obl. sg. forms in इ occur; e. g., इह्, निह्, etc.; and, on the other hand, in S. the short obl. pl. forms in नि; as इनि or हिनि (transposed for \*इहि), तिनि or तनि (with अ for इ, see § 26). As regards the S. obl. sg. इन् or हिन्, etc. and the Br. obl. pl. इन्हौ, etc., P. इनाँ or इन्हाँ, etc., see below Nro. 2. — Just as the forms of the near demonstr. pron. have arisen from the shortened form ए of the old quant. pron., so those of the far dem. pron. have originated from the long form of the quant. pron. Thus the E. H. obl. sg. ओह् is a contraction of \*अवह्, shortened (see § 26) from the Ap. Pr. gen. \*एवहु or \*एवहो. The other E. H. obl. form ओ has dropped the final ह्. The dir. sing. ओ or उ is a contraction of the Ap. Pr. nom. sg. \*एव or \*एवु. In G. the latter contracts to आ *that* (abl. आ यो *from that*). There is, also, in H. a fuller obl. form वाहु (Kl. 137, d) for \*ओहु = \*एवहु; and in Br. there is the obl. form वाहि for \*ओहि == Ap. \*एवहि or \*एवहे. And so forth as to the rest of the forms of the far dem. pron. and their derivatives; they are exactly analogous to those of the near dem. pron., as explained above. Here, also, must be mentioned the S. neut. interrog. pron कोहु or कुहु *what, why* (Tr. 208); it is an obl. form and contracted form \*कवहु for Ap. \*केवहु or \*केवहो.

2) Among the Ap. Pr. quant. pron. एवु, तेवु, जेवु, केवु (H. C. 4, 407. 408, see Nro 1) the last one is already used in the Ap. as a simple pron. But it shortens एव to अव (cf. § 26 and Nro 1, p. 291) and changes उ to ण (cf. § 106), and thus becomes कवणु (H. C. 4, 367). In E. H. it appears as कवन or कउन् or कोन्, in W. H. कौन् or कौन्, P. कोण्, G. and M. कोण्, Mw. कुण् or क्ण्, N. कुन्. Similarly Ap. जेवु becomes in G. जेवन्, in E. H. जवन् or जउन् or जोन्, W. H. जौन्, N. जुन्; and Ap. तेवु becomes in E. H. तवन् or तउन् or तौन्, N. तुन्. E. H. makes a regular obl. form कोन् or कोन, representing the Ap. gen. sg. कवण or कवणाहे (H. C. 4, 425) with or without the gen. suff हे. The Ap. एवु gives rise to the B. उनि *that*; the intermediate forms G. एवन्, P. ओन् or उन्, Mw. उण् occur only as obl. forms sing.;

Mw. has also the alternative obl. sg. उणी or वणी beside उण्, just like E. H. कौन् and कोने. Mw. possesses also the corresponding plur. obl. forms उणौ or वणौ; and similarly in the other pron., as obl. sg. कुण् or कण् or कुणी or कणी, obl. pl. कुणौ or कणौ. The latter are regularly contracted from the Ap. Pr. gen. pl. कवणहं, etc. These obl. pl. occur, also, in P. उनां or उन्हां, Br. उन्हौ (= Ap. gen. \*अवणहं = एवउहुं), S. उननि or उन्हनि or (with ह् transposed) हुननि. The Br. possesses also as plur. obl. forms उन्हे (used only in the sense of the dat. and acc.), in O. H. उनहि which are made by the Ap. obl. pl. suff. हि (see § 367, 2). Corresponding to the Ap. quant. pron. एवउ, etc., S. has the shorter forms एउो, तउो, जउो, केउो. Just as the Ap. एवउ becomes in B. a simple pron. उनि, so एउो, तेउो, जउो by changing उ to ण् give rise to the B. simple pron. इनि, तिनि, विनि (read जिति)<sup>1</sup>). This set exists also in P. एन् or इन्, Mw. इण्, S. इन, etc., which, however, occur only as obl. forms sing. There are, also, the fuller obl. sg. forms, Mw. इणी or अणी, S. इनिह (also spelled इन्हिअ or इन्हौ) or इन्हे (for \*इनह), N. इनह or इनहे (in the plur. इनह-ह् or इनहे-ह्, also spelled इन्ह-ह्, इन्हे-ह्, retaining the obl. suff. ह् or ह, see § 364, 3)<sup>2</sup>). There are, also, the corresponding obl. pl. forms Mw. इणौ or अणौ, Km. उनू or इनो, P. एना or एन्हा or इनौ or इन्हां, Br. इन्हौ, S. इन्हे or इननि or इन्हनि or हिननि (probably with an anomalously transposed ह्, for इन्हि, cf. § 368, 5). Moreover, Br. has a dat. उन्हे, O. H. इनहि, and P. an act. एन्हौ or इन्हौ. The obl. forms in न्हौ, न्हौ, न्है contain the Ap. Pr. gen. pl. or obl. suff. हं, हुं, हिं respectively (see § 365, 7, being contractions of \*नहं, \*नहुं, \*नहिं). These remarks apply, *mutatis mutandis*, also to the analogous forms of the relat., interrog., and gen. dem. pron. in Mw., P. and S. — Even the original forms एउो, तेउो, etc. occur in S. as simple pronom. adv.; viz. in

1) It should be noticed that here, again, the far dem. उनि is founded on the longer form एवउ, but the near dem. on the shorter एउ.

2) S., also, has an obl. sg. हिन् which stands for \*इन्ह = इनह.

the obl. form एडे or एडहँ or एडहुँ *hither*, तेडे or तेडहँ or तेडहुँ *thither*, केडे or केडहँ or केडहुँ *whither*<sup>1</sup>). Some of these exist, also, in E. H. (with the usual change of ड to न्), एने *hither*, तेने *thither*, जेने *whither-soever*, केने *whither*.

3) The Ap. Pr. quantit. pron. एव, तेव or तिव or तेम, जेव or तिव or जेम, etc. (see Nro 1) seem to have also produced the following Gd. simple pron.; viz. O. येडँ, केड, G. जेव, तेव (also spelled जेड, तेड or जेओ, तेओ) or जग, तेम which, however, appear to be used only as obl. plur. forms (see Ed. 41. 43); also G. कओ m. (कई f., कडं n.), probably for \*कवो, shortened from the strong form केवो, which occurs in G. as a qualit. pron.; S. has केओ m. (कई f., Tr. 209); the corresponding weak form \*कड occurs in Br. कौ or को, N. को, and is used alike for masc. and fem., sing. and plur. (just like Ap. एहु, see Nro 6). Similarly N. has त्यो (for \*तिवो) and जो, Mw. ज्यो or जो, Br. जो, P. जो; M. also has masc. जो, but makes a regular fem. जी and neut. जे, and obl. sg. ज्या or जे, obl. pl. ज्यां, dir. pl. जे, ज्या, जो; a fact which points to their origin from the strong forms \*जओ, \*जई, \*जयं. To the M. obl. pl. ज्याँ corresponds the Mw. obl. pl. ज्यौँ, Gw. ज्यौ. The S. has m. जो, but a rather anomalous f. जा, pl. जे c. g. Exactly analogous are M. sg. तो, ती, ते, pl. त, त्या, ती; obl. sg. त्या, ति, pl. त्याँ, Mw. त्याँ, Gw. त्याँ. The G. neut. कडँ was used already in the Ap. Pr. as pronom. adv. कडँ *why* (H. C. 4, 416). Also तड, जड are mentioned as Ap. Pr. acc. (= nom.) and gen. sg. forms by Md. in the following two sūtras: यन्नदोरु अमा जड तड । अमा सह यन्नदोरु जड तड स्यात् । जड मग्गसि तड देमि ॥ i. e., *yat tad* become *jañ tau* in the acc. sg.; e. g., what thou askest, that I give; and उस्सिद्धय्यौँ जड तड च । यन्नदोरु उय् एव । चकारात् पत्ते प्राकृतवत् ॥ i. e., *yat tad* become *jañ tau* in the abl. and gen. sg. or they have the regular Pr. forms<sup>2</sup>). I believe, N. is the only Gd., which

1) The forms in हँ, हुँ are, properly, obl. plur., but used as sing.

2) My MS. reads यन्नदो मा जड पतिड । अमा सह यन्नदोर्जड तड स्यात् । जड म° तड द°; there can be little doubt, that जड, तड (or perhaps जडं, तडं) is the true reading as shown by the succeeding sūtra, where the MS. reads जड,



admits *तो*, *तो* as obl. forms; viz. in the abl. sg. *तो* बाट or *तो* सँग *from which*, *तो* बाट or *तो* सँग *from him*. — In G., *एम*, *केम* *thus*, etc. occur also as pron. adv. (Bs. II, 336, 337); so also in O. H. *केम* or *केम* *how*, etc.<sup>1</sup>). B. adds the pron. suff. *अन्* (§§ 209. 214); thus *एमन्* or *एमनि* or *एमने*, *तेमन्* or *तेमनि* or *तेमने* *thus*, etc. (see S. Ch. 216).

4) From the Ap. Pr. quantit. pron. *एवु*, *तेवु*, etc. are also derived the G. far dem. pron. *ओलो* or *पेलो* *he, that* and the pronom. adv. *अइले* or *ऐल्हे* *now*, *तइले* or *तेल्हे* *there*, etc. by the change of *इ* to *ल्*. Thus Ap. *एवउ* becomes \**अवउ*, \**अवल्लो* or contr. *ओलो* or *पेलो* (for *वल्लो* with an anomalous hardening of *व्* to *प्*). The N. *अइल्ल* or *ऐल्हे* (for \**एल्हे*) is a loc. (or obl. form) sing. made with the obl. suff. *हे* and is = Ap. Pr. *एवइहे* (see § 469). The Pr. loc. sg. *ताला* *there*, *नाला* *where*, *काला* *where* (II. C. 3, 65) are probably to be explained in a similar manner. Possibly the S. interrog. *केहू* *who* may be identified with the short quant. pron. *केउ* by the change of *उ* to *रू*; but it may be also (as Tr. 206) the curtailment of the Ap. qual. pron. \**केरिहु*, a slight modification of the ordinary Pr. *केरिम्पो*, Skr. *कीदृश*. The Ap. strong form \**केरिहो* becomes in S. the simple pron. *केर्हो* *what* (usually spelled *केरहो* with transposed *ह*). Substituting in *केरिहो* the long Ap. form *केव* for *के*, and the original *दू* for *रू*, we obtain *केवदिहो* (cf. Pr. *कीदिसो* Ls. 116); and similarly *एवदिहो* or *एदिहो* for the ordinary Pr. *एरिसो* or \**एदिसो*, Skr. *ईदृश*. Here the palatal vowel *इ* changes *दू* to *जू*, and thus in S. the Ap. \**एदिहो* and \**एवदिहो* become the simple pron. *इजो* *this* (for \**इजिहो*, just as S. *केर्हो* for *केरिहो*) and *उको* *that* respectively; the one being the near, the other the far dem. pron., corresponding to the short and long

तउ. In the original MS., which was in the Oriya characters उ (or उँ) would be hardly distinguishable from उँ.

1) E g., Chand Pr. Rāj 25, 28 कहै नटु सो रानन वर प्रेम । मह सागपन सा करिहि सु केम ॥ i. e., says the king to the actor, full of affection: how will she make kinship with me? or 1, 82 तरो ताप उधरो केम नथ । i. e., I am hot with fever; how can I remove it, oh Lord?

qual. pronominal forms. Similarly the S. कुताडो *what* stands for the Ap. \*केवदिहञउउ (with the pleon. suff. ञउउ, see § 217, H. C. 4, 429). In H. there is a pron. adv. कुता *where*. In the Ap. there is a qualit. pron. एत्ताहु *such-like* (K. I. 5, see Ls. 449, 455) = Skr. एतादृशः. In P. there is the qual. pron. अजिहा or अजेहा of *this sort* (Ld. 19, 56).

5) The pron. of qual. are in Skr. ईदृशः, तादृशः *such-like*, etc. They become in the Ap. Pr. एहु, तेहु, तेहु, केहु (H. C. 4, 402) or (in the st. form) एहो, केहो etc. The first of these एहो or एहु or एह was already used in Pr. as a simple pron. *he* or *this* (H. C. 4, 362)<sup>1</sup>), and it occurs in most Gds. as the dir. form of the near dem.; thus P. एह् or इह्, Br. इहु or यहु or यह्, E. H. इह् or ई (for \*इञ dropping ह्) or ऐह्. O. has एहि which appears to be founded on the form \*एहे mentioned by K. I. 8 in Ls. 449, and is Ap. Mg. (see § 46). The S. हो or हे or हिउ (for इह, एह, इहु) transposes the ह्; and the S. इओ (for इहो) elides it; so does also the N. यो (for इओ) and Mw. यो; and the Mw. ओ drops the initial य् of यो. In M. the initial इ or ए is dropped; thus हा m., हो f., हे n. (for Ap. \*इहउ, \*उहिआ, इह्यं, all st. forms) with a regular obl. sg. ह्या, pl. ह्या, and, dir. pl. हे m., ह्या f., हो n. The Ap. Pr. qual. pron. केहो occurs in S. as the adjectival simple pron. केहो (fem. केही) or (eliding ह्) केओ *which* (Tr. 209); so also in G., where, however, ए is shortened to अ, thus G. कओ (fem. कई, n. कउं). But perhaps these S. and G. forms are rather to

1) H. C. limits all three forms to the nom. and acc. sg., but Mđ. only एहो and एहु, while he appears to allow एह for all cases; thus तदश्च चैह सुपा। सुपा सह तदो (दश्चा जे मेअ?) एहः स्यात्। एह तपो वाला वणं वा 'चकारात् पूर्वोक्तेरुपमं' i. e., *tad* in declension becomes *eha* or (*uma*) as before mentioned.\* The reading in brackets is doubtful; perhaps it is to include the pron. अदस्; as in the succeeding rule एहो एहु च स्वम्या, 'वम्यां सह तददसोर एहो एहु च स्यातां। एहो सोहेइ देक्ख वा। एण प्रोभते। एतं पश्यति, एव एहु। चकारात् पूर्वोक्ते च' i. e., in the nom. and acc. sg., *tad* and *adas* become *eho* or *ehu* or as before mentioned (*eha*). Mđ. is correct; for *eha*, being a pure base, may serve as an obl. form, while एहो and एहु are proper nominatives.

be connected with the base केव (see Nro 3). In P. the pleon. suff. डा is added, thus केहडा *which*, तेहडा *whichever* (fem. ०गे). Connected with the Ap. Pr. केहो is also the W. H. (so-called) neut. interrog. pron. कहा or P. किआ *what*, with ए shortened to इ and अ. They are really obl. forms. The P. किआ stands for \*किहा and is contracted in H. H. to क्या. S. transposes ह (i. e., किआ *khid*, § 132, note) and changes कि *khi* to इ *chh* by the influence of the palatal उ, thus making छा (Tr. 208). Similarly G. changes \*किहा, \*किहो, \*किहुं into शो, शो, शुं (for हो, हो, हुं, see § 11, for \*कृशो, \*कृर्, \*कृउ). — Here is also to be mentioned the peculiar E. and W. Gd. (exc. G.) general dem. pron. से or रो, O. also रोह *that*, which I am inclined to derive from the Skr. मद्ग्रा: *like*. It would become in the Ap. Pr. \*सेहो or \*सेहु or \*सेह, just as Ap. एहो, एहु, एह for ईदग्रा:; and it would easily acquire the meaning of *such-like* in correlation with the relat. pron. ते or तो. It is commonly (Bs. II, 314) identified with the Pr. nom. sg. सो (H. C. 3, 3) or the Pr. gen. sg. से (H. C. 3, 81). But the Gd. से is *never* an obl. form; and both the Gd. से and मो are used indifferently in the nom. sg. and plur. Besides the S. सो forms a fem. डा and plur. से; and the O. रोहि seems to be an analogous form to O. एहि. Possibly the E. H. nom. sg. and pl. ते, ते, के may be identified with the Ap. qual. pron. तेह, तेहु, केहु (H. C. 4, 402) or तेह, तेह, केह, by dropping the final ह; for a form तेह, etc. appears in the emphatic forms तेहै, etc.

6) The same Skr. qual. pron. इदग्रा:, etc. also become अइसो, तइसो, नइसो (H. C. 4, 403) or अइसु, तइसु, etc. (cf. H. C. 4, 331. 332) in the Ap. Pr. In Gd. अइ is changed to ऐ or ए or इ or अ; thus strong forms: W. H. ऐसो, तैसो, P. and H. H. ऐसा, तैसा, N. यसो (for \*ऐसो or \*इसो, see §§ 71. 171), तसो, M. तैसा, तसा, etc. But the weak forms तसु or तस्, तमु or तस्, etc. also occur in Br. (see Bates' Hindi Dict.) and O. H. Thus Chand in Pr. Raj 24, 52 थान थान नर उडे। चंद तस उप्पम पाइय ॥ i. e., *from place to place men fly up* (i. e., *like birds*), *such a simile has Chand devised*. In modern Gd., however, the weak forms have become

simple pron. Thus P. ऐस् or एस् or इस्, तिस्, N. यस्, तस् *he* or *this*, etc. They are found only as obl. forms. The corresponding fuller obl. forms in ए also occur; thus H. H. has इमे, तिसे (as dat. acc. to *him* or *him*) besides इस्, तिस्, etc., (just as E. H. कौन् and कौने, see Nro. 2; contr. for Ap. अइमहि or अइमहे, see § 365, 6). B. has the gen. sg. किमे-रू of *what*, dat. loc. किसे to or in *what* (S. Ch. 122; just as B. देवे-रू of *god*, देवे to or in *god* of देव). M. has not only the sing. obl. कसा or कस्या (= Ap. Mg. gen. कइसाह or कइसयाह, Skr. कीदृशस्य or कीदृशकस्य, see § 365, 1), but also the pl. obl. कसा or कस्या (= Ap. Mg. gen. कइसाह, etc., § 365, 4) of *whomsoever* (see Man. 54; just like M. obl. sg. देवा, pl. देवा of देव *god*). The existence of these fuller obl. forms shows that the shorter ones (तिस्, तिस, etc.) cannot, probably, be identified with the Pr. gen. तम्म, तस्स, Skr. तम्य, यस्य, etc. (as Bs. II, 315).

7) Again the before mentioned (see Nro. 1) Skr. quant. pron. इयत्, तावत्, etc. are changed in the Ap Pr to एत्तिउ (II. C. 4, 341), तेत्तिउ, तेत्तिउ, केत्तिउ (cf. II. C. 4 383) or, in the strong form, to एत्तिओ, तेत्तिओ, etc. (H. C. 4, 395, cf. 2, 157, for \*एत्तिअउ, etc.). The latter become in W. H. इत्तो तिच्चै, etc., H. H. इत्ता, तिन्ना, O. एते, तेते, etc. (Bs. II, 332); the former in S. एति°, तेति°, etc., G. एट°, तेट°, etc., W. H. and P. इत°, तित°, etc., E. H. ऐत°, तेत°, etc., B. एत्, तेत्, etc. (S. Ch. 85). As a rule, these weak forms add some pleon. suff. (ना or रो or लो); thus P. इतना, तितना, etc., S. एतिरो, तेतिरो, etc., G. एरलो, etc. (see §§ 452. 453). But the plain weak form is used in P. as a simple pron.; thus इत्, तित् *he* or *that*, जित् *which*, कित् *who* (Ld. 22, 66); it occurs, however, only in the obl. sing. (e. g., gen. तित् दा of *this*) Both these shorter obl. sg. and the corresponding fuller obl. sg. forms are used as pron. adv.; thus Br. इत् or इतै *here*, तित् or तितै *there*, etc., P. इत्ये, तित्ये, etc., S. इति or इते or इत्थि or इत्थे, तिति or तिते or तित्थि or तित्ये, etc. The forms इत्थि, इत्थे, etc. are contracted from त्तिहि or उत्तहे, तित्तिहि or तित्तिहं, etc. These are loc. sg., made with the Ap. Pr. obl. suff. हे (see § 365, 6), and occur even in the Ap. Pr.

itself, as एतद् *here*, तेन *there*, etc. (H. C. 4, 436)<sup>1</sup>). By the side of the shorter forms एतद्, तेन, etc., Pr. uses also the longer forms एतन्नि, तेनन्नि, etc. (see Wb. Bh. 422); and as Pr. एतन्नि originates the W. H. near quant. pron. इतो, so Pr. एतन्नि (shortened \*अवन्नि, \*ओन्नि) becomes the far quant. W. H. उतो *that much*, H. H. उता. The corresponding weak forms are S. ओति°, G. छाट°, W. H. and P. उत°, E. H. ओत°, B. अत् (S. Ch. 85, see §§ 452. 453); and the pron. adv. are, Br. उत् or उतै, P. उत्ये, S. उति or उते or उति or उत्ये; and P. uses उत् as a simple pron. in the obl. cases; e. g., उत् दा *of him, of that*.

8) The following Gd. pron forms appear to be remnants of the old simple pron. The Skr. gen. sg. तस्य, यस्य, etc. become in the Ap. Pr. तस्स, तस्स or तास्, ताम् or तासु (also तस्सु H. C. 4, 419), ताम् (H. C. 4, 358. 3, 63). In O. H. the following instances of the latter two kinds of forms occur, तास् or ताम् and ताम् or ताम्<sup>2</sup>), in Br only तास् and ताम् (Kl. 122, a), and P. has काम् as the obl. form of the neut. interrog. pron. (*of what*. Ld 20, b). But in the Ap. Pr. the gen. or obl form is also made by adding the ordinary obl. suff. हो or हे, before which the vowel may be either long or short; thus तहे, कहे (H. C. 4, 359) or ताहे, काहे (H. C. 3, 15), एतहे (H. C. 4, 436) or एताहे (H. C. 3, 82. 2, 134); again ताहो, काहो or ताह, काह, etc.<sup>3</sup>). Some of the forms with अ

1) Perhaps the Ap Pr forms एतद् *here*, तेन *there*, etc (H C 4, 404) may be similarly explained as contr f n एतद्, तेन, etc, made with the abl. or obl. suff. हु (H C 4, 336, see §. 365, 6), and the Ap. Pr forms तद् *where*, तद् *there*, etc (H C 4, 404) as acc. neut. in उ (H C 4, 331) or as containing the abl. suff. तो or तु (= Skr तस्) Some of these Ap. forms have been received into the literary Pr., viz एतद् (for एतद् = एतद्) or एतद् or एतो, see H C 3, 82 83 V. 6, 20 21, where they are expressly described as being abl. sing; and तत्, तत्, कत्, see H. C. 2, 161 and Wb. Bh. 422 (कत् and एतद् = \*एतद् abl. pl., § 365, 7)

2) Thus Chand, Pr. R. 25, 16 तास् राज समीपं । रहो नट विद्या उचारं ॥ i. e., *near that king I remain to practise the art of the actor*.

3) Mā says दीर्घो ऽस्ते वा उसादेशे । स्वव्रति उसादेशे एषां (i. e. कियत्तां) दीर्घोऽस्यात् । काहो । काह । कासु । काह । काहुं । एव यत्तदो ॥ स्ते । कस्स । तस्स ॥

are preserved in Gd.; thus ताहि, जाहि, काहि (for \*ताहे, etc.) and त्हाहु, जाहु, काहु (for ताहो, etc.) in Br. (Kl. 122 226) and, as the obl. form of the so-called neut interrog, काहे in E. H and Br., and काह् in P.; in O H. also ताह् or ता<sup>1</sup>) The Ap Pr loc. sg. is तहि, जाहि, कहिं (H C 4, 357), apparently these have become general obl forms in S तहिं, जाहिं, कहिं, and with आ in O ताहिं, जाहिं, काहिं, and perhaps serve as neut. interrog. pron. in Mw. काई<sup>२</sup> or कई<sup>३</sup> (dropping ह्) and also in the Ap Pr काह् (H. C. 4, 367) and कइ (H. C. 4, 426)

9) The indefinite pron are made by adding the emphatic particles उ or ई (see § 550) to the interrog pron Thus E. H केहु any one = केहु + उ *kehu + u* and कोनो = कौन + उ *kauna + u*, M कोणो = कोण् + ई *kon + i*, II H कोई = को + ई *ko + i*

439. *Declension* Correlative pron are declined regularly like nouns, with the following two exceptions 1) those of the short form (ई, ऊ, ते, ने, के, § 433) may optionally use in the gen. the aff कर् or कर् This affix is treated precisely like an adj.; i. e., it follows the gender, number and case of the governing noun. Thus कर् is the weak form, of com gen and incapable of inflexion, but कर् is the masc. st form (§ 381), making a fem. कर् (§ 384) and obl masc कर् (§ 386), fem कर्, both in the

i. e., *ka, ya, ta* may become *ka, ya, ta* before the gen suff, exc when the latter is *ssa* — It will be observed, that हे is a general obl suff, for in H C 4, 359 (तहे) it is a gen suff, in H C 3, 65 (ताहे) and H. C 4, 436 (एतहे) and H C 2, 134 (एताहे) it is a loc suff, in H C 3, 82 (एताह) it is an abl suff Moreover, हे may be shortened to हि and ह्, see H C 2, 161 (तहि, तह), and ह् or त्य is an abl suff in H C 3, 82 (एत्य = \*एतह), but a loc suff in H C 2, 161 (तत्य = \*तेतह)

1) Thus Chand Pr Rā 25, 36 न न हंस धीर न न सुख ताह ॥ i. e., *neither his soul nor his felicity was firm* again 25, 16 ता ग्रह सु पात्र अनेक गुन ॥ i. e., *in his house is a daughter of many virtues* — It may be observed, that the so-called neut interrog pron is, in reality, merely some obl. form of the common interrog pron., thus M has काय् (for \*काहि = \*काइ), Bs has काह् and Bh. का (for काह्) *what*.

sing. and plur. (§ 386), but करे may be used, though anomalously, as a fem. obl. The strong forms are not commonly used in the nom., nor the weak forms in the obl. cases. Practically, therefore, the aff. are; dir. form करू c. g., obl. करे मी. or करी f.; just like कै and के. It should be observed also that the latter aff. only (but not करू, करे) can be used with the full pron. obl. forms in ह् (viz. ऐह्, ओह्, तेह्, नेह्, केह्) and with the emph. obl. forms in ही (as ऐही, ओही, etc. § 433). Thus dir. form sg. or pl. के करू घर or केह् कै घर or rarely के करा घर *whose house or houses*; के करू मेहरू or केह् कै मी or rarely के करी मी *whose wife or wives*; obl. sg. क करे घर मे or केह् के घर मे or rarely के करू घर मे *in whose house*; के करी मेहरू से or केह् के मेहरू से or rarely के करू or के करे मी मे *from whose wife*; obl. pl. के करे घरान् मे or केह् के घरान् मे *in whose houses*; के करी मेहरान् मे or केह् के मी से or rarely के करे मी मे *from whose wives*; etc. — 2) There is no acc. proper, identical with the nom., but only the (improper) acc. formed with the dat. aff. क. Thus, *whom* is के के or केह् के or कवन् के or कौने के, but not simply के or कवन्.

- 440. Optionally a sort of pleon. declension may be made, by adding the case-aff. to the ordinary obl. form of the gen. in ए. In the *khari bhāshā*, however, this is not commonly done, exc. in the loc.; e. g., sg. ओ करे मे *in him*, pl. ओन्ह करे मे *in them*, etc.

141.

## 1. Short form.

a) Simple form: ई *he, thus*.

	Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.
nom.	ई	ई	ईलोग्
acc., dat.	ए के or ऐह् के	ऐन्ह के	ऐन्ह लोगन् के
instr., abl.	ए से or ऐह् से	ऐन्ह से	ऐन्ह लोगन् मे
gen.	ए कै, के or ऐह् कै, के	ऐन्ह कै, के	ऐन्ह लोगन् कै, के
	• or ए करू, करी, करे	or ऐन्ह करू, करी, करे	
loc.	ए मे or ऐह् मे	ऐन्ह मे	ऐन्ह लोगन् मे
	or ए करे मे	or ऐन्ह करे मे	

b) Emphatic form: इहै or इहौ *even he, even this.*

## Singular.

nom.	इहै or इहई	इहौ or इहउ
acc., dat.	एही के	एहू के
instr., abl.	एही से	एहू से
gen.	एही के or एही करू or ए करै or ए करे हो	एहू के or एहू करू or ए करौ or ए करे हू
loc.	एही मे or ए करै मे or ए करे ही मे	एहू म or ए करौ मे or ए करे हू मे

## Plural.

nom.	इन्है or इहई	ऐन्ह हूँ
acc., dat.	ऐन्ह हो के	ऐन्ह हूँ के
instr., abl.	ऐन्ह ही से	ऐन्ह हूँ से
gen.	ऐन्ह हो के or ऐन्ह ही करू or ऐन्ह करे or ऐन्ह करे हो	ऐन्ह हूँ के or ऐन्ह हूँ करू or ऐन्ह करौ or ऐन्ह करे हूँ
loc.	ऐन्ह हो मे or ऐन्ह करै मे or ऐन्ह करे ही मे	ऐन्ह हूँ मे or ऐन्ह करौ मे or ऐन्ह करे हूँ मे

*Note:* Like ई are declined उ *that*, ते *he*, ते *which*, के *who*; only substituting उ, ओ, उ, ओ and ते, ति, ते, etc. for ई, ए, इ, ऐ respectively. — All forms with ऐ or ओ may, optionally, be spelled with इ or उ; e. g., ऐन्ह के or इन्ह के *to these*, and ओन्ह के or उन्ह के *to those*, etc.

442. 2. Long form: तत्रन् or तउन् or तीन् *he, this.*

## Sing. and simple plur.

	Com. gen.	Fem.
nom.	तत्रन्	तउनी
acc., dat.	तीने के	तीनी के
instr., abl.	तीने से	तीनी से
gen.	तीन के, के	तीनी के, के
loc.	तीने मे	तीनी मे

## Compound plural.

	Com. gen.	Fem. .
nom.	तीनेलोग्	तीनीलोग्
acc., dat.	तीनेलोग् के or तीनेलोगन् के	तीनीलोग् के or तीनीलोगन् के



Com. gen.

Fem.

instr., abl. तौनेलोग् से or तौनेलोगन् से तौनीलोग् से or तौनीलोगन् से  
 gen. तौनेलोग् कै, के or तौनेलोगन् कै, के तौनीलोग् कै, के or तौनीलोगन् कै, के  
 loc. तौनेलोग् मे or तौनेलोगन् मे तौनीलोग् मे or तौनीलोगन् मे

*Note:* Like तवन् are declined त्वन् *which* and क्वन् *who*; also आप्न् *own* (§ 449). — Their forms may, optionally, be spelled with अघ or अउ or अी according to § 34; e. g., तउने के or तौने के *to this*.

442a. Short form: के or केहू. Long form: कौनो *any one*.

Sing. and simple plur.

Compound plural.

nom. कं	केहू	कौनो	केलोग्	केहू लोग्	कौनो लोग्
a., d. के के	केहू के	कौनो के	(के लोग् के	केहू लोग् के	कौनो लोग् के
i., abl. के से	केहू से	कौनो से	or के लोगन् के केहू लोगन् के कौनो लोगन् के		
gen. के कै, के	केहू कै, के	कौनो कै, के	etc.	etc.	etc.
loc. के मे	केहू मे	कौनो मे			

*Note:* Like केहू is declined तेकेहू *whosoever*.

### 3. THE REFLEXIVE PRONOUN.

443. The reflexive pron. *self* is आप्. It is alike for both genders, and is declined regularly like a subst., but has no plur.; the sing. form being used for both numbers; dat. sg. and pl. आप् के *to himself* and *to themselves*.

444. *Affinities.* W. H. and P. use the same refl. pron. आप्; O. has आपे or आपा, B. आपनि (with obl. आपना), M. आपण्; while in S. it is पाण; H. H. has in the dir. form आप्, but in the obl. आप् or अपने. The M., B. and O. forms आपा and H. H. obl. अपने are properly the corresponding possess. pron. (*own*), see § 449; it is in fact a sort of pleonastic declension, see §§ 440. 432.

445. *Derivation.* The original of the refl. pron. is the Skr. subst. आत्मा (nom. sg. of आत्मन्) *soul* or *self*. In Pr. it becomes अप्पा or अत्ता (H. C. 2, 51. Vr. 3, 48) or अप्पो (H. C. 3, 56) or Ap. Pr. अप्पु (or st. f. अप्पउ H. C. 4, 422). In Gd. it is आप्; in O. H. and Br., also, आप्. The Pr. form अत्ता, I believe, has left no trace in Gd. In Pr. the pron. also assumes a long form

अप्यापो (H. C. 2, 51. 3, 56), Ap. Pr. अप्याप् (H. C. 4, 396), which survives in the S. पाप् with the loss of the initial अ; O. H., also, has it as m. अपान्, f. अपानि (Kl. 124, 231). Cw. 46 mentions also a Pr. form अनापो, which, however, has left no trace in Gd., and is, probably, a false reading.

#### 4. THE HONORIFIC PRONOUN.

446. The hon. pron. is substituted for the pron. of the 2<sup>nd</sup> pers. sg. ते<sup>०</sup> and pl. तूँ, in respectful address. It is, in the wk. f. रावर or राउर c. g., in the st. f. रुउर or रौर m., रउरी or रौर f. It is declined regularly like a subst. (§ 379). But the refl. pron. आप् may also be used as a honorific; and in that case it always forms the comp. plur. आप्लोग् when applied to more than one person.

447. *Affinities and Derivation.* The use of राउर as a hon. pron. seems to be confined to E. H.; but आप् and its cognate forms are used so in all Gds., thus B. uses आपनि (S. Ch. 114. 115. note, with obl. f. आपना or आपनका), O. आपपा (Sn. 18), W. H. आप्, P. आप् (Ld. 20, 58), etc. — The original of राउर I believe to be the Skr. noun राजकुल<sup>०</sup> (or राजकुल्य) *royal*, Pr. राअउल<sup>०</sup> or राउल<sup>०</sup> (Vr. 4, 1. H. C. 1, 267), see § 78.

#### 5. PRONOMINAL ADJECTIVES.

448. By the term. *pron. adjectives*. I designate the possessive pron. (as *mine, thine, own*), the correl. adj. of quantity and quality, and the indefinite pron. *all, whosoever, some*.

##### a) Possessive pronouns.

449. Possess. pron. may be derived from the first and second pers. and from the refl. pron. Those of the first pers. pron. are: wk. form मोर c. g. *mine*, or st. f. मोरा m., मोरी f.; and wk. f. हमार c. g. *our*, or st. f. हमरा m., हमरी f. Those of the second pers. are: wk. f. तोर c. g. *thine*, or st. f. तोरा m., तोरी f.; and wk. f. तोहार c. g. *you*, or st. f. तोहरा m., तोहरी f. Those of the refl. pron. are: wk. f. आपन् c. g. *own*, or st. f.

अपना m., अपनी f. They are declined regularly like adj. of the corresponding form (see § 386). The possess. pron. of the third pers. is identical with the gen. of the near or far dem. pron., viz., wk. f. एक or ओक c. g. *his* or *her*, or st. f. एकरी or ओकरी m., रो f.; and wk. f. ऐन्हक or ओन्हक c. g. *their*, or st. f. ऐन्हकरा or ओन्हकरा m., रो f.

*Note.* The following bye-forms also occur. हमारा *our*, तोहारा *your*, fem. रो. — The adj. निम् *own* is also frequently used as a refl. pron.

450. *Affinities.* The forms of these pron. do not differ materially in the Gds., exc. in M., S. and, partially, P. They are: of the first pers., B. मोर, आमार; O. मोर or मोहोर, अम्भर; W. H. मेरो, हमारो (Br.) and मारो or म्हारो, मारो or म्हारो (Mw.); G. मारो, अमारो; N. मरो, हाम्रो; but P. मरा, असाग or साग; M. माका, आम्-चा; S. मू-तो or मूँ-तो, अगा-तो. Of the second pers., B. तोर, तोमार; O. तोर, तुम्भर; W. H. तरो, तुम्हारो or तिहारो (Br.) and थारो (or थाम), थारो (Mw.); G. तारो, तमारो; N. तेरो, तिम्रो; but P. तरा, तुसाग or तुहाग; M. तुका or तुम्-चा, S. तो-तो or तुहुं-तो, तव्हो-तो or व्हो-तो. It should be observed, that B. and O. use आमार, अम्भर and तोमार, तुम्भर as sing *mine*, *thine*, and form new plur., B. आमा-देर and even मो-देर *our*, तोमा-देर, ता-देर *your*, O. अम्भमानङ्कर, तुम्भमानङ्कर. Similarly also N. हामोहेर-को, तिमोहेर-को or तिमोहेर-को. B. forms also आमादिगेर or आमा-देर or आमा-दिगेर and similarly तोमादिगेर, etc. — Of the refl. pron : E. H. आपन् or अपना, O. H. आपुन् or अपना, Br. अपनो or आपना, M. आपला, P. आपणा, N. आफना, G. आपणो, but also आपन्-नो, O. आपणा, but also आपणा-र (Sn. 18), S. पा-तो or पाँ-तो. — The possess. pron. of the third pers. are made in all Gds. in the same way as in E. H.

451. *Derivation.* It will be observed that these adj. pron. are made by simply adding the gen. aff. (see the list in §§ 374. 377 also §§ 272—280) to their corresponding subst. pron. In some cases the aff. still remains a separate word; thus in S. मूँ-तो *mine*, M. आम्-चा *our*, P. तुसा-ग *your*, S. पाँ-तो *own*, Mw. आप-रो *own*, O. आपणा-र *own*. In others it has coalesced with the base into one

word; as E. H. मोरू *mine*, हमारू *our*, etc. The latter contain two of the ancient gen. aff. कर and क्क, on the derivation of which see § 377. The former appears in the ordinary Pr. possess. pron. of the plur. अम्हकेरो *our*, तुम्हकेरो *your* (H. C. 2, 147); in the sing., however, the ordinary Skr. forms seem to have been used, thus Pr. मईअ *mine* = Skr. मदीये (II. C. 2, 147). The aff. कर always elides क्, and coalesces with the base; thus in the Ap. Pr. महारउ (H. C. 4, 358) or महारा (II. C. 4, 434) *mine* (for \*महकर्उ or \*महकरा, मई being the gen. of इउ *I*, cf. II. C. 3, 113), or contracted in the Nágara Ap. मरा (Md त्वदीये तर । मदीये मर ॥); so also in Br. मेरौ or in Mw. मारो or म्हारो. The E. H. मोरू is founded on a form \*महुकरो (from gen. महु, H. C. 4, 379) or has been assimilated to तोरू *thine*. Again Ap. Pr. तुदाह (cf. H. C. 4, 434) *thine* stands for \*तुदकह (from gen. तुह, H. C. 3, 99) and is contracted in E. H. to तोरू. The Br. तेरो and Mw. थारो presuppose an original form \*तहकरा (from gen. तह, see § 430. 2) or have been assimilated to मरो, म्हारो. Again Ap. Pr. अम्हारा (H. C. 4, 434) *our* (= \*अम्हकरा, from gen. or base अम्ह H. C. 3, 113 114) becomes, by transposition of ह्, H. P. अमारा, W. H. हमारो; or, by elision of ह्, B. अमार, G. अमारो; or, by elision of अ, Mw. म्हारो; or, by shortening अ, O. अम्मर, E. H. हमरा. Similarly Ap. Pr. तुम्हारा for तुम्हकरा, whence H. H. तुम्हारा L. H. तोह्रा, etc. — The P. form असा-अ (or सा-अ with loss of अ, just as in Mw. म्मारो), तुसा-अ or तुहा-अ are made with the old gen. aff. अ (= M. P. दा, see § 377, 3); as to the म् of असा, तुसा see § 430, 3. 4. It will be observed that in P. and M. the plur. only, but in S. both the plur. and sing. are made by a separate gen. aff. As regards the M. forms माका. तुका see § 430, 5. — As to आपन् or अपना, see §§ 60. 111. The Mw. अपर्रा contains either the gen. aff. रो, or the रू is a modification of the Pr. ल् of अपुल्लो (H. C. 2, 163). — The S. पाई-जो appears to contain the old gen. \*पानह (Ap. अप्पापहो), contracted to पान्ह = पाई (see § 132, note).

b) Correl. pron. of quantity and quality.

452. The pron. of quant. are: एता or ऐतना *this much*,

तेना or तेतना *that much*, तेता or तेतना *as much*, केता or केतना *how much*. They are strong forms, and consequently are treated precisely as *adj.* of a like form; that is, they have a *fem.* in ई (§ 384, as एतो or ऐतनो, etc.), and an *obl.* form in ए (§ 386, as *gen.* एते के or ऐतने के *of so much*, etc.). Sometimes also the forms ऐतेक् or ऐतिक् or ऐतक् or इतेक् इतिक् or इतक् or अतेक्, etc.; उतेक् or उतिक्, केतेक् or कितेक् or कतेक् or केतिक् or कितिक् or कितक्, and so forth of तेत°, तेत°, are met with (see *Bs.* in *J. R. A. S.* vol. III, 490 and *Kl.* 141), see § 26. I have also met with the forms तैठा or तौया *as much*, कौया *how much*.

453. *Affinities.* Nearly the same forms are used in all *Gds.*; thus *B.* एत, अत, तत, यत, कत or एतक्, अतक्, etc. (*S. Ch.* 84); एत, etc. are sounded *etā*, etc., but एतक् *etak*; hence *gen.* एत-रू, but एतके-रू. *O.* एते, तेते, येते, केते, *W. H. (Br.)* इतौ or इतनौ, उतौ or उतनौ, तितौ or तितनौ, etc. or (*Mw.*) इतरौ, उतरौ, तितरौ, etc., *P.* इतना, उतना, तितना, etc., *G.* एटलो, अटलो, तेटलो, etc. (*Ed.* 44), *S.* एतिरौ or हेतिरौ, अतिरौ or होतिरौ, तेतिरौ, etc. (*Tr.* 224), *M.* इतका or इतकाला, तितका or तितकाला, etc. (*Man.* 52; also कितौ or कितोक? as *Tr.* 223), *N.* यति, उति, तति, जति, कति.

454. *Derivation.* The quant. pron. in *Pr.* are एत<sup>B.</sup> तेनिओ, तेनिओ, केनिओ (*H. C.* 2, 157) or *Ap. Pr.* एत्तिउ (*H. C.* केत्तिउ (*H. C.* 4, 383), etc.; and in the strong form: *Pr.* etc., *Ap.* एत्तिअउ, etc. The *Mg. Pr.* would have *wk. f.* एत<sup>B.</sup> एत्तिइ or एत्तिअ (*Vr.* 11, 11) or *st. f.* एत्तिअए or एत्तिअके or एत्तिअ<sup>B.</sup> (see § 202), etc. Now *Mg.* एत्तिअ contracts to *O.* एते, *N.* यति, etc., *Mg.* एत्तिअए to *E. H.* एता; *Mg.* एत्तिअक to *E. H.* ऐतेक् or ऐतिक् or ऐतक्, *B.* एतक्; *Mg.* एत्तिअकए to *M.* इतका. In *Pr.* the *pleon. suff.* लो may be added: एत्तिलो (for एत्तिअलो, see § 58, note) or *Ap. Pr.* एत्तुलो, etc., whence *G.* एटलो, etc. (with ट् or ट् for त् or त्, as in *Pr.* पट्टा for *Skr.* पत्तन *H. C.* 2, 29), *S.* एतिरौ, etc., *E. H.* ऐतना (see §§ 58. 111. 214). In *M.*, the *pleon. suff.* ल्वा may be super-added to the *pleon. suff.* का, thus इतकाला, etc. (*lit. Ap.* \*एत्तिअकअलउ). The *Gd.* forms उति, उतेक्, अतिक्, अतिरौ, etc. are similarly derived from the *Pr.* एवत्तिअ (see *Wb. Bh.* 422), as explained in

§ 438, 1. 7. — The Pr. forms एत्तिओ, तेत्तिओ, etc. are in Skr. इयंतिकः, तावतिकः, etc. — The E. H. forms कोया, जौया or जैठा are perhaps derived from केवत्तिश्च, जेवत्तिश्च with an anomalous aspiration, as in M. केवढा, and cerebralisation, as in G. जेढलो.

455. *Cognate quant. forms.* By the side of the forms एत्तुलो, तेत्तुलो, etc. The Ap. Pr. has the forms एवडु, तेवडु, जेवडु, केवडु (H. C. 4, 407. 408), made by adding the pleon. suff. डु to the quant. pron. एव, तेव, जेव, केव, in Ved. Skr. ईवत्, कीवत्. M. has them in the strong form एवढा or (with pleon. ला) एवढाला, तेवढा or तेवढाला, etc. (Man. 52); so also G. एवडो, जेवडो, तेवडो, etc.; S. also has them, but in the shorter form एडो or हेडो, ओडो or होडो, तेडो, etc. (Tr. 224), made by adding the pleon. suff. डो to the short quant. pron. ए, ते, जे, के (see § 438, 1), so also P. wk. f. एड् or ऐड्, तेड् or तैड्, etc., and st. f. एडा, तेडा, etc.; also O. एडे, तेडे, जेडे, केडे (Bs. II, 336). In this form the quant. pron. usually expresses *size*, i. e., *so large, how large*, etc. In S. the diminutive suff. डो may be added, as एडिडो or हेडिडो, ओडिडो or होडिडो, तेडिडो, etc. (Tr. 224), meaning *so small*, etc. — The W. H. has also तै, कै which are derived from the Skr. quant. pron. तत्तिः, तिः, कतिः, Pr. तई, जई (H. C. 1, 177), कई (H. C. 1, 180?), Ap. Pr. तइ, जइ, कई (H. C. 4, 376).

456. The pron. of qual. are: अइसन् or ऐसन् of *this kind*, तइसन् or तैसन् of *that kind*, जइसन् or जैसन् of *which kind*, कइसन् or कैसन् of *what kind*. They are the same in the masc. and fem., and are declined regularly, like any adj. (see § 386). But they may also take the strong obl. forms; viz. in the sing., m. ऐसने, f. ऐसनी, etc., in the plur. m. ऐसनन्ह् (or ऐसनेन्ह्), f. ऐसनिन्ह्, etc.

457. *Affinities.* There is much difference among the various Gds. as regards these pron. There are four main types, the characteristics of which are: 1) स, 2) ह, 3) ङ or म and 4) ङ or र or ल. To the first or स-type belong: E. H. ऐसन्, तैसन् and in Bs. also ऐस् or अस् or यस्, तैस् or तस्, etc.; W. H. ऐसो, तैसो, तैसो (Br.) or इस्यो, उस्यो, तिस्यो (Mw.), etc.; M. असा or असला or असलाला, तसा or तसला or तसलाला, etc. (Man. 52); and

N. यसो, उसो, तसो, etc. Of the second or ह-type are: P. एहा or इहा or अत्रिहा or अत्रेहा, तेहा or तिहा, etc., S. इहओ or हिअओ, तिहंओ, etc. Of the third or व-type are: G. एवो, आवो, तेवो, etc., B. एमत् or एमन्, तेमत् or तेमन्, etc., O. एमन्त्, तेमन्त्, etc. Of the fourth or उ-type are: Mw. ऐओ or ऐरो, वैओ or वैरो, तैओ or तैरो, etc., Gw. ऐनो or ऐनू or अनू, वनो or वनू, तनो or तनू, etc. (Kl. 141).

458. *Derivation.* The qual. pron. in the Ap. Pr. are either अइसो, तइसो, जइसो, कइसो (H. C. 4, 403) or एहु, तेहु, जेहु, केहु (H. C. 4, 402) or in the strong form, एहउ or (contr.) एहो, etc., (K. I. 9, in Ls. 449). The former set produces the स-type, the latter the ह-type. M. असला, etc. and E. H. ऐसन्, etc. add the pleon. suff. ल or न, see §§ 111. 214. M. even reduplicates the suff. ल in असलाला, etc. The S. इहओ, etc. add the pleon. suff. उ. The P. अत्रिहा preserves the ह-type in a more complete form; for it stands for a Pr. form एदिहओ = Skr. ईदृशः (see § 438, 4). — The Skr. qual. pron. are ईदृशः, तादृशः, यादृशः, कीदृशः, which become in Pr. एरिसो, तारिसो, जारिसो, केरिसो. (H. C. 1, 142) or एदिसो, तादिसो, etc. (see Ls. 115). As a rule र (or दृ) is elided (see § 124), whence the Ap. Pr. अइसो, etc. (see § 25, note); and स (or श्) is changed to ह, whence Ap. एहो, तेहो contracted for \*अइहो, \*तइहो, etc. (see Ls. 455). It may be observed, that the P. and S., which alone have the ह-type, similarly change the स (or श्) of Pr. बीसा 20, तीसा 30 (Skr. त्रिंशति, त्रिंशत्) into ह, P. बीह, तीह, S. बीह, दीह. — The forms of the व- and उ-types were originally quant. pron. The Skr. इयत् (Ved. ईवत्), तावत्, etc. become in Pr. एव, तेव, etc. or एम, तेम, etc. (cf. Wb. Bh. 422. Ls. 458), whence G. एवो, तेवो, etc. and B. एमन्, तेमन्, etc. (with pleon. suff. अन्, see §§ 209. 214); and the O. एमन्त्, B. एमत्, etc., perhaps, are based on the Skr. इयतकः, etc., Pr. \*एवन्तओ, and probably contain the suff. Skr. वत्, मत्, Pr. वन्त, मन्त (see §§ 232. 236). — The Mw. ऐओ or ऐरो, etc. are identical with the S. quant. pron. एओ, P. एउ, etc.; and so also the Gw. ऐनो, where र has been changed to न् (see §§ 106. 438, 2) — The forms, Br. असो and Gw. वनो

are founded on the Ap. Pr. forms \*एवइसो (= Skr. \*एवादृशः) and एवडो respectively.

c) Indefinite pronouns.

459. The indef. pron. *all, every one* is सब् or सभ or emph. सबै or समै. It is the same in both genders, and is declined regularly like any other adj. of the weak form. But when plurality is to be emphasised, it has an obl. form सभन् or सबहन्; thus gen. सब् or सभ कै of *all* taken as *a whole*, but सभन् or सबहन् कै of *all* taken *severally*.

460. *Affinities.* The forms of this indef. pron. are nearly alike in all Gds. Thus B. सब्, O. सवु, W. H. सब् or सबरू, P. सभ, G. सभ or सर्व (Ed. 44, 1), S. सभु m., सभ f., or सभुको m., की f., M. सर्व, N. सब्. S. has the emph. forms सभोई and मिड्योई or मिडोई. — E. H. also uses सकरू or सगरू and सारू *all, whole*.

461. *Derivation.* The original is the Skr. सर्वः, which becomes in Pr. सव्वो, in the Ap. Pr. सव्वु (H. C. 4, 366) or \*सव्वु (cf. H. C. 4, 399, see § 135, note). The former becomes O. सवु, E. H., N., Br. सब्, the latter Br. सबरू (emph. सबरै). The form सभ has an alous aspirate (see § 131), perhaps analogous to N. आफु. If for आयु, आयि before for आगि, etc. — The S. सभुको adds the pleon. suff. को. — The G. and M. सर्व is a semitats. — The strange S. मिड्योई or मिडोई, I believe, to be merely a curtailment of the emph. सभोई or सबोई. The final ई is the emph. particle; the initial म् of the remainder मिडो stands for व (see § 134); the final इड्यो or इडो is a pleon. suff., the same as in S. पेहेर्यो or पेहेरो *first* (see §§ 118. 213), योरिडो *very little* (Tr. 79), एडिडो *so small* (§ 455). In S., स often changes to ह् (see Tr. XXX); hence सब् may have become हव् or हम्, next ह् (by suppressing व), next म् (cf. Mw. म्हारो or मारो *our* for Br. हमारो). — The E. H. सगरू is the Skr. सकल (see § 102); and सारू is, perhaps, really the past part. of सारब् to *complete*, the causal of the R. सृ (= Skr. part. सारितः), or it may be the Skr. सार्वः.

462. The indef. pron. *whoever* is नेकेहू which is both masc. and fem.; and नेकिहु *whatever*, which is used with *things* only.



They are compound forms, made of ते and केहू or किहु, and are declined regularly like their component parts; thus gen. sing. तेकेहू के *of whomsoever*.

463. *Affinities and Derivation.* This pron. is formed in the same way in all Gds. by compounding the relat. with the indef. pron. Thus S. तेको m., तेका f., तेको n. (Tr. 213); B. तेकिहु or तेकोन् n. (S. Ch. 127), etc. As to its derivation, see § 438.

464. The indef. pron. *some* is केतना or कई which is masc. and fem., and किहु or कुहु or कहु which refers to *things* only. They are declined regularly like adj. Thus gen. केतने लोगन् के *of some men*, कई घोर्न् के *of some horses*, किहु बात् के *of some thing*. When केतना is used independantly, it forms the obl. केतनन्, and to कई the pleon. aff. एक (§ 289) is added; thus gen. केतनन् के or कईएक् के *of some*.

465. *Affinities and Derivation.* The impersonal indef. pron. is in B. किहु, O. किहि, Br. कहु, H. H. कुहु, M. काँही, Mw. काँई or कई, S. की, P. कुहु. I know no satisfactory derivation for किहु, perhaps it is Pr. \*किञ्चिहु = Skr. किञ्चित् खलु.

466. Here may be added the E. H. खान् or दूसर, or पराई *another*, and एक दूसर *one another*.

*Note:* खान् is the Mg. खन्ने (cf. H. C. 3, 58), Skr. अन्यः; — खउर is the Mg. खवले, Skr. अपः; — पराई seems to be connected with the Skr. परकीयः; it also occurs in the Ap. Pr. पराई (H. C. 4, 350) or पराय (H. C. 4, 376). — On दूसर see § 271.

## 6. PRONOMINAL ADVERBS.

467. The E. H. pron. adv. are the following: a) *of place*, इह or इहाँ or इहवाँ or ऐने or एहाँ or ऐनेन् or ऐहान् or ऐहाँ here; ताँ or तहँ or तहाँ or तहवाँ or तेठाँ or तेदेन् there; जहाँ or जहँ or जहाँ or जहवाँ or जेदेन् where; काँ or कहँ or कहाँ or कहवाँ or केदेन् where? The ~~same~~ in emph. form are: इहवै or ऐहीठे or ऐहीठाँ *even here*; तहवै or तेहीठे or तेहीठाँ *even there*; जहवै or जेहीठे or जेहीठाँ *even where*; कहवै or केहीठे or केहीठाँ *even where*?

b) of direction, ऐहर् or ऐहवर् *hither*; ओहर् or ओहवर् *thither*; तेहर् or तेहवर् *thither*; नेहर् or नेहवर् *with*; केहर् or केहवर् *with*?

c) of time, अब् *now*, तब् *then*, तब् *when*, कब् *when*? In emph. form: अबही or अबहियै *even now*; तबही or तबहियै *even then*; तबही or तबहियै *even when*; कबही or कबहियै *even when*?

d) of manner or cause: यू or एउं or एओ or अइसे or ऐसे *in this manner* or *for this cause*; त्यू or तेउं or तेओ or तइसे or तैसे *thus* or *therefore*, also *then*; झू or जेउं or जेओ or जइसे or जैसे *in which manner* or *for which cause*, also *when*; क्यू or केउं or केओ or कइसे or कैसे *how* or *why* or काहे *why*, केह् कबत् or काहे बदे *what fore*, काहे *why not*?

468. *Affinities.* Forms of the same origin are designated by the same letter. — a) *Adv. of place*; B. (a) एया or हेया, ओया or होया, तथा or सेया, यथा (i. e. तथा), कोया or (h) ए खाने, ओ खं, से खं, ये खं, कोन् खं, or (d) हेदे *here*, or (γ) हेरो *here*. O. (a) एठा, सेठा, येठा, कोठा, or (h) ए-ठा-रे, येउं ठारे, केउं or को ठारे, etc. Bs. (a) ऐह्याँ or ऐह्यन्, ओह्याँ or ओह्यन्, तेह्याँ or तेह्यन्, etc., or (b) उहँ or उहाँ or उहवाँ, इहँ, etc. (as in E. H.); (W. H.) Br. (a) इत् or इतै, or उतै, तित् or तितै, जित् or जितै, कित् or कितै or कन्, or यहाँ or याँ, वहाँ or वाँ, तहाँ or ताँ, जहाँ or जाँ, कहाँ or काँ; (a) अठै or अठो or ईठै, उठै or उठो or ऊठै, जठै or जठो (or जेठै?), or कठो or कैठै or कोठै (also अडै, जडै, etc., Kl. 265); P. (a) इत्ये, तित्ये, जित्ये, कित्ये; S. (a) इति or हिति or इते or हिते or इत्ये, उति or हुति or उते or हुते or उत्ये; तिति or तति or तितिय or तिते or तित्ये or तते, जिति or जितिय or जति or जिते or जित्ये or जते (also ज्ञाते or ज्ञात्ये), किति or कितिय or कति or किते or कित्ये (Tr. 392. 393); G. (b) हियाँ, आँही, त्याँ or तही or ताँहाँ, झ्याँ or जही or जाँहाँ, क्याँ or लही or काँहाँ (Ed. 115. Bs. II, 336. 337); M. (a) येये, तये, जेये or जिये, केये or (α) कोठे (Man. 100); N. (b) त्हाँ or यहाँ or याँहाँ or आहाँ, वहाँ or वाँहाँ, तहाँ or ताँहाँ, जहाँ or जाँहाँ, कहाँ or काँहाँ.

b) *Adv. of direction*; B. (c) एमने, अमने, कमने; O. (γ) एने, केने; E. H. (c) ऐह-र् or ऐहव-र्, etc.; in some parts also (γ) एने or (c) एमह-र् or (γ) एनह-र्, etc. (cf. Kl. 266); W. H. इधर्, उधर्, तिधर्,

निधरू, किधरू; P. unknown; S. (γ) एडे or हेडे or एडहँ or ऐडहँ or एडहुँ or हेडहुँ, ओडे or होडे or ओडहँ etc., तेडे or तेडहँ or तेडहुँ, नेडे etc., केडे etc.; G. (γ) आणी-गम्, तेणी-गम् (cf. Bs. 336. 337); M. (c) इकडे or हिकडे (Man. 127), निकडे, तिकडे, किकडे; N. (b) वहाँ, वॉहँ, तौहँ, तौहँ, कौहँ. The adv. of place may also be used in all Gds.; generally with the dat. aff. added; e. g., E. H. तहाँ के, O. सेठा कु *thither*, etc.

c) *Adv. of time*; B. (c) एवे, तवे, गवे, कवे (S. Ch. 207) or (h) ए-खन्, त-खन्, य-खन्, क-खन्; O. (c) एवे, तेवे, येवे, केवे; E. H. (c) अब्, तब्, जब्, कब्; W. H. (c) अबै or अबे, तबै or तो. (= तव्), जबै or जौ, कबै, or (d) जदू or जदै or जदा or तदू, तदू or तदै, कदू or कदै or कदा or कदू, or (e) जरै, तरै; O. H. (c) ताम, जाम; P. (d) तदू, जदू, कदू; S. (c) तौ, जौ, or (γ) तडिहो, जडिहो, कडिहो; M. (c) एवहाँ, तँव or तेवहाँ, जँव or जेवहाँ, कँवहाँ (Man. 100. 125), or (a) याताँ *then* (Man. 100); N. (c) अब्, तव्, जव्, कव्, or (c) बरले or ऐरहे, तइले or तैरहे, जइले or जैरहे, कइले or कैरह, or (e) जरू, तरू.

d) *Adv. of manner*; B. (γ) हेन्, केन्, or (c) एमन् or एमत् or एमनि or एमने or एमते, अमनि, तेमन् or तेमत् etc., येमन् or येमत् etc., कमन् or केमत् or किमत् etc. (S. Ch. 216. 217. 218); O. (c) हेमन्, सेमन्, येमन्?, केमन् or कियौ or आहँ-के or काहा-र; O. I. हेमि, तेम or तिमि, जेम or जिमि, केम or किमि; P. (c) एउँ, तउँ, जउँ, कौ, S. (c) ईअ or हीअ or ईअ or हँअ or इएँ, उअ or हूअ or उँअ, हुँअ or उँएँ or हुँएँ, तोअ or तँअ or तिरँ, जोअ or जँअ or तिरँ, कीअ or किअ or किए; G. एम्, अम्, तेम्, जम्, कम्; M. (f) असे, तसे, जसे, कसे (Man. 101. 126); N. (f) गसै, तसै, जसै, कसै, or यसै, तसै, जसै, कसै, or (h) यसो-गरि, तसो-गरि, etc., क्वान् *why*.

I may add here, that pron. adv. implying *from* or *up-to* are made in all Gds. by adding abl. or loc. aff. to the above mentioned pron. adv. Thus O. के-हुँ *whence*, E. H. कहाँ-से or केहरू-से *whence*, कबू-से *since when*, कबू-तक् or कहाँ-तक् *how long*, S. के-सी or का-सी or के-सीअ or के-ताई *how long* (Tr. 394); N. काँहाँ-वाट् or काँहाँ-देखि *whence*, etc. But in P., M., Mw., S. and occasionally in the other Gds. they may be made by giving to the adv. of place or direction a different (abl.) inflection; thus P. (a) इत्यो









